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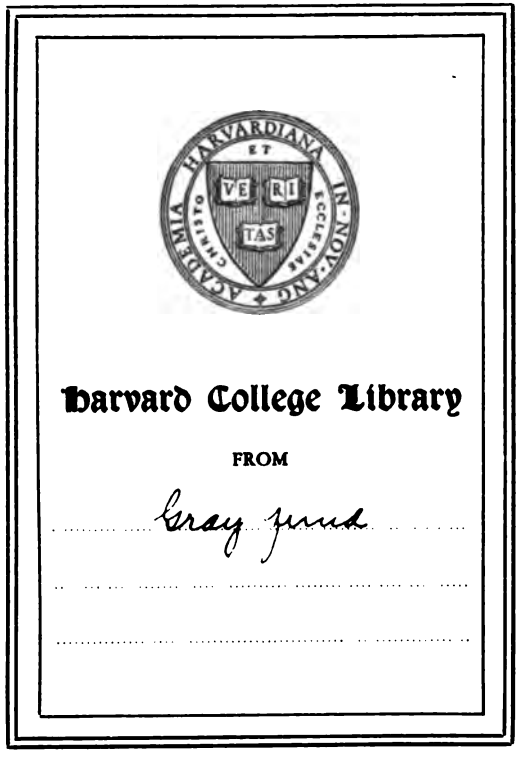

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THE WRITINGS

OF

WILLIAM PATERSON,

FOUNDER OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND;

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES
OF THE AUTHOR, HIS CONTEMPORARIES, AND HIS RACE.

EDITED BY
S. BANNISTER, M.A.,
OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD;
FORMERLY ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

"Paterson has a prodigious genius."—*J. Stewart, Edinb.* 1700. *The Carstairs Correspondence.*

"With a sufficient share of the *fervidus ardor* of his countrymen, he had a fertile genius, and a firm and constant mind."—*Address to the Bank Proprietors, by A. Allardyce, Esq., M.P.*, 1798.

LONDON:
EFFINGHAM WILSON, ROYAL EXCHANGE.
M.DCCC LVIII.

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Rr 6316,32

1860, March 19.

2 vol.

18 s. + $\frac{1}{9}$ = $ 5.00

Gray Fund.

1. Commerce - Great Brit. (1700.)

2. So. (1701.

3. Pol. - Great Brit. (1706.)

& Union.

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CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

Biographical Introduction, 1658—1719 . . . . ix—cxliv

Paterson born in Scotland in 1658—He was a merchant in the West Indies and in London—He was neither a buccaneer nor a missionary—His early success; and his financial authority—His account of the Bank of England —His proposals for better managing the City of London Orphan-Fund— —The Darien Settlement, and freedom in government, in religion, and in trade, with the redemption of the Debt, his leading objects in life—The first cause of his misfortunes—His integrity and great abilities—The ruin of the Darien Settlement occasioned by neglect of his advice, and by his not being employed in its government—His case a remarkable illustration of the urgent need of administrative reform—William the Third's respect for him; and intention to revive expeditions to Central America—Paterson's long residence in Westminster after returning from Darien—His influence on the Union of England in Scotland—He is consulted in financial matters by great ministers in the reigns of William III., Queen Anne, and George I. but not employed—His public Library of Trade in Westminster—He would have prevented the South Sea bubble—His writings—The indemnity for his losses in Darien granted by George I. and Parliament in 1715 —He pays his debts—He dies in 1718-19.

1. Proposals of a Council of Trade, 1700. Third Edition. . 1—105

2. Memoir upon Expeditions against the Spanish West Indies, 1701. Second Edition . . . . . 107—162

3. Dialogues upon the Union of England and Scotland, at the Wednesday's Club in Friday Street, 1706. Second Edition . . . . . 163—251

England's Great Concern, 1702. Second Edition . . 253—279

Baron von Humboldt's Encouragement given in 1856 to the united efforts of all Maritime States for the construction of a Ship-passage to the Pacific upon the scene of Paterson's enterprise of 1698 . . . . . 280—283

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THESE WRITINGS OF WILLIAM PATERSON

ARE DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF

PAUL DARANDA, A MERCHANT OF LONDON,

THE ASSOCIATE OF THEIR AUTHOR

IN HIS BRILLIANT COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES;

AND HIS GENEROUS CONSOLER IN MANY TROUBLES.

PAUL DARANDA

ENJOYED THE ESTEEM OF THE WORTHY AND THE GREAT OF

HIS TIME;

AND WELL DESERVES THE RESPECT OF POSTERITY.

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PREFACE.

JUDGMENTS so honourable to the author of the writings contained in these volumes, have been passed upon him from his own days to the present, by impartial and competent authorities, that little more might be expected of the editor of those forgotten works, than to establish their genuine authorship, and to accompany their correct text with a few explanatory notes. Fifty years ago, Mr. Allardyce, a Member of the House of Commons, and a proprietor of stock in Paterson's Bank of England, improved upon the previous, favourable testimony of Sir John Dalrymple respecting him, in *The Memoirs of Great Britain;* and even enlarged upon Mr. Stewart's eulogy, quoted on the title-page of these volumes. Sir John Sinclair, in *The History of the Revenue,* adopting the words of Mr. Allardyce, declared that "Paterson possessed a fertile genius, a clear and enlightened understanding, a firm mind, and the enterprising spirit of his countrymen." Mr. Macaulay repeats this with a slight variance; adding, from good authority, that he possessed, moreover, great persuasive powers of conversation; and Mr. Macaulay's testimony

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comes with a personal weight, that at once enhances his adopted panegyric, and renders some undervaluing observations on his part too formidable in reference to Paterson's fair fame, not to be studiously refuted.

It must further be admitted that, although these and many more, have for 150 years testified well of Paterson, others have expressed grave doubts both of his integrity and his abilities,—imputing to him the having been a buccaneer; and the having assumed the character of a missionary among the Indians in order to indulge a spirit of adventure, and "a truant disposition," in a region exposed to scenes of reckless violence, and frequented by men of more than doubtful morality.

It will, therefore, be required, that anything seriously equivocal in his career, shall be candidly explained, and what is obscure in it diligently cleared up.

The want of a full biography of him has been much regretted, and the extreme incorrectness of such notices of his life as we do possess, justifies the complaint; whilst our present deep interest in the affairs in which he was long and earnestly concerned, and for which his pen has furnished the best record, must, independently of his share in their administration, secure attention to his writings. The spirit of those writings is even more remarkable than the weight of their subjects and their originality. Their total disappearance from our litera-

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ture is one of the most singular incidents in its history. A fact still more curious is that one of them, namely, the first of the present collection, was published in the middle of the last century as a work of John Law, of Mississippi fame; and held by so distinguished a person as Professor Dugald Stewart, to have been really from his pen. That this was a mistake is submitted to the reader with confidence, inasmuch as the very highest bibliographical authority in Scotland, supports the Editor's view of the case:—

As the current of public opinion [says the Professor] at a particular period (or at least the prevailing habits of study) may be pretty accurately judged of by the books which were then chiefly in demand, it may be worth mentioning before I conclude this note, that in the year 1751 (the same year in which Mr. Smith was promoted to his professorship), several of our choicest tracts on subjects connected with political economy, were republished by Robert and Andrew Foulis, printers to the University of Glasgow. A book of Mr. Law's, entitled *Proposals and Reasons for constituting a Council of Trade in Scotland*, &c. reprinted in that year, is now lying before me, from which it appears that the following works had recently issued from the university press: Child's Discourses of Trade, Law's Essay on Money and Trade, Gee's Trade and Navigation of Great Britain considered, and Berkeley's Querist. In the same list Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic is advertised as being then in the press.—Works of Adam Smith, vol. v. p. 548.

Against this powerful and positive testimony the Editor is glad to have the opinion of Mr. David Laing,

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of Edinburgh, that the argument in the Preface to "the Proposals" might

under ordinary circumstances be deemed quite sufficient to identify Paterson as their author. The work, however, without any authority assigned, was republished at Glasgow in 1751 under the name of John Law, and has uniformly been referred to by his later biographers as his composition. It is therefore desirable that this question should be definitely settled by cotemporary authority. Sir Robert Sibbald, indeed, in a MS. list of Scottish authors, written probably about 1710, mentions the work, and says "by Mr. Law or Mr. Paterson," confounding it, no doubt, with Law's tract "Money and Trade Considered," printed at Edinburgh, 1705, 4to. But we have the name of Paterson given as the author on the title-page of at least one copy at the time of publication. But what seems to me to be quite conclusive, is the authority of Sir John Lauder, of Fountainhall, one of the Lords of Session. In a MS. note-book, commenced in 1667, and continued till 1721, in which Lord Fountainhall gives a list of books and pamphlets, "got or bought," the first book entered under the year 1701, is "Mr. PATERSON's Proposealls and Reasons for a Counsell of Trade, and for Fisching and Coine." Added to this is the very important fact, that the author dates his preface from Edinburgh, December 31st, 1700. Now we know from the "Memoirs of the great Mr. Law," published at London, 1721, 8vo, that John Law was, at that period, for some years in Italy, residing first at Genoa, and afterwards at Venice, acquiring wealth by his "success and skill at all manner of play;" while Paterson, at the time when the Proposals were printed, was in Edinburgh.

To Mr. Laing's decisive argument upon the authorship of the particular tract in question, may properly be added the published praise of two other works of Pater-

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son's, by the President of the Chetham Society of Lancashire, Mr. Crossley; so that demonstration of his value as a writer cannot be carried further.

The very able and valuable "Inquiry into the State of the Union, by the Wednesday Club in Friday Street," 1717, (says Mr. Crossley, in the "Notes and Queries" of 11 June, 1852,) was written by William Paterson, the projector of the Bank of England and the Darien scheme; a great and memorable name, but which, to the discredit of British biography, will be sought for in vain in Chalmers's or our other biographical dictionaries. The book above noticed appears to be a continuation of another tract by the same author, entitled "An Inquiry into the Reasonableness and Consequences of an Union with Scotland:" London, printed and sold by R. Bragg, 1706, 8vo, 160 pages. This was preceded by an earlier tract by the same author: "Conferences on the Public Debts, by the Wednesday's Club in Friday Street:" London, 1695, 4to. The last is noticed, with a short account of the author, by Mr. M'Culloch ("Lib. of Political Economy," p. 159), but he has not mentioned the two other works previously adverted to. In all of them the author adopts the form of a report of the proceedings of a club; but, without attempting to deny the actual existence of a Wednesday's Club in Friday Street (the designation he assumes for it), nothing can be more clear to any one who reads the tracts, than that the conversations, proceedings, and personages mentioned are all the creatures of his own fertile invention, and made use of the more conveniently to bring out his facts, arguments, and statements. The dramatic form he gives them, makes even the dry details of finance amusing; and, abounding as they do in information and thought, these works may always be consulted with profit and pleasure. The "Inquiry into the State of the Union," 1717, 8vo, for which Walpole is said to have furnished some of the materials, was

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answered, but rather feebly, in an anonymous pamphlet, entitled "Wednesday Club Law; or, the Injustice, Dishonour, and Ill Policy of breaking into Parliamentary Contracts for Public Debts:" London, printed for E. Smith, 1717, 8vo, 38 pages. The author of this pamphlet appears to have been Mr. Broome. Those who would wish to see one of the financial questions discussed in the Inquiry, treated with equal force and ability, and with similar views, by a great cotemporary of Paterson, whose pamphlet came out simultaneously, may read "Fair Payment no Sponge." This is one of the pamphlets which, though it has been sometimes erroneously assigned to Paterson, may, both on external and internal evidence, be confidently attributed to Defoe, but which has unaccountably escaped the notice of all his biographers.

Paterson,—living in the period of a great crisis of our political history,—a time when our commercial character was struggling out of feudal corruptions, and when it was assuming its just equality with legitimate property in the soil,—was one of the boldest advocates of free trade without undervaluing fair territorial claims. He stood forward, incomparably the ablest of those who provided money for the great war of the Revolution of 1688, waged to resist the conquests of Louis XIV. abroad, and to vindicate civil and religious freedom at home. He never ceased to urge how the credit of the State could be best protected by the skilful management of the finances; he demonstrated how industry could be effectually relieved by a wise distribution of the taxes, and by the due discharge of the National

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Debt. His principles of government in these and other respects, well expounded as they are by him with powerful historical deductions, to this day deserve careful study.

He appreciated most correctly Scotland's capabilities, in his time completely suspended, as he proved, by mischievous legislation; and those of England, for a brief space in some decay; as well as those of Ireland, hardly then cultivated. He promoted measures the best calculated to meet the perplexing difficulties of the Government, and to advance the general welfare. He vehemently opposed financial measures fatal to the public interests — monopolies and corruptions of all sorts—political tyrannies; but especially the delusive principle of inconvertible paper money.

It is not pretended to solve the problem how a man so endowed, and one pursuing, as will be seen, an unswerving course of honour and public usefulness, should have been neglected, and even oppressed, by the Government, in the most trying years of his ebbing life, or how it was that soon after his decease, his important writings and opinions fell almost into oblivion. Party spirit seems to be chargeable with the injustice long done to him when living; and it may be that his great principles of finance have been since disregarded for want of intelligence to appreciate them, and probably through the want of political integrity among us. His memory

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calls for vindication; and his personal case is by no means a solitary one of inequality in the distribution of public honours; nor the only example to prove that the history of our laws, our institutions, and our people, needs revision. In regard to our celebrated men, the moral of the periodical elevation and displacement of some of them in the temple of Fame, according to corrected estimates of their qualities, so admirably depicted by Akenside, could in no instances be better applied than in those of William Paterson, and of one with whom he is often confounded, or injuriously compared—John Law of Lauriston; with whom he possessed scarcely a quality, political or moral, in common.

The grandeur of the designs of Paterson was recommended to his cotemporaries by the dignity of his character. From documents lately found, and fully set forth in the Introduction and the Appendix, it will be seen, that his reputation and influence were established so early as in his first residence in America, prior to 1688. Again, in 1692 he appeared before a Committee of Parliament, representing with power great moneyed interests in London, where he was not only the true founder of the Bank of England, but the well-supported proposer of an analogous institution in the city. He had indeed already formed something like a school of

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able financiers, who thoroughly understood the distinction between the real credit of solid property, and the false credit arising out of mere paper issues. Thenceforward, during nearly thirty years, that school made head, first against *the predecessors of John Law*, and then against John Law himself and his misguided supporters in London and Scotland. He thus caused the rejection of schemes which, after his decease, covered all Europe with misery and shame; and which schemes have still zealous partisans in all mercantile communities. These facts alone give a present value to the original and well-reasoned writings of Paterson.

In Scotland he formed the Darien Company out of the most discordant elements, and in the face of resistance powerful and various; and when, from no fault of his, the Darien settlement was abandoned, he, with signal fortitude and great prudence, recovered his own position at home, and prepared the revival of the enterprise under peculiarly auspicious circumstances. Even when, by the decease of King William III. whom his admirable qualities and discretion had conciliated, the revived combination suddenly failed, he was, in England, during many years admitted to be the able advocate of the wisest measures for the public good; and, after struggling those many years against injustice, he at last

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won a double triumph. In the first place, his noble views were accepted by Parliament as bases of a sound system of finance, even then well pursued to a limited extent, and now capable of advantageous application upon the larger scale, to abate evils generated by the errors of 150 years.

To the public triumph was added his personal vindication, obtained from George I. and from Parliament, by a large grant of money to satisfy his claims on account of the Darien Company. By this act of justice he was happily enabled to discharge obligations, which attest the respect and affection of a numerous circle for a worthy man.

A series of valuable documents have been collected, forming a substantial substitute in the place of the narrative of his life, for which much-desired details are still wanting; and a few explanatory remarks upon those documents, and upon his writings, are all that, it is thought, can properly be yet offered by way of biography of him, unless conjecture were to be indulged in for well authenticated facts, and analogies trusted to where tradition is not supported by positive testimony.

The urgent question of administrative reform will be found to receive useful illustration from William Paterson's career.

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Two Sovereigns, founders of a new line, and distinguished statesmen held him in high esteem. The chief merchants of London, the whole Scottish nation, and the United Parliament, followed his counsel. But it is not on account of what he accomplished so well, that this appeal is made. Its object is rather, to ask the consideration of some things he proposed in vain for us all; and also of what, in his own case, the Government of the time long disregarded—ADMINISTRATIVE JUSTICE—still neglected among us as grossly as it was in the reign of Queen Anne—but which now awaits reformation under circumstances of peculiar promise.

Unquestionably the personal case of Paterson—in its bearing upon administrative reform—claims the most earnest consideration. In his time men knew, although they have forgotten, that, by the statute law of England, ministers are bound to select the "best" for the service of the Crown. The statute roll of Richard II. was exhibited in Parliament, when an impeached Lord Chancellor was fined 30,000*l.* for breach of it; and it was then a popular complaint that the "best" men, such as Paterson, were, on unworthy considerations, postponed at the Treasury, and in other posts, to their inferiors. The Tower still possesses that ancient roll; and, with less knowledge of its text than our fathers had, we are struggling to obey its spirit.

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Nevertheless individuals scoff at its purpose as "Utopian;" and undervalue the measure recommended by Her Majesty the Queen, sanctioned by Parliament, and accepted by the people, for the admission of the meritorious alone to the public service.

The task so auspiciously begun is the very worthiest that statesmen could undertake, and the wonderful unanimity signified by great political parties to accomplish it, is an earnest of our success. Ministers who are passing off the scene, are content that those who are to come after them shall be free from corruptions often even more embarrassing than discreditable; and their followers are seen to hail with eager satisfaction becoming their youth, an era of honour little known to their fathers. The cheering prospect may, indeed, permit some enthusiasm that is sure of an approving response throughout the whole civilised world in any degree influenced by our example. Nor does the foundation of this especial reform lie deep only in our statutes. Our literature, too, is thoroughly imbued with the spirit that may be relied upon to carry it through. A learned and acute German critic and historian, Dr. Vehse, has, in Shakespeare, correctly traced the broad distinction of the agency of personal merit from the antiquated dogma of fate—the "good luck" of the scoffing, corrupt *Utopians*. Well, indeed, does Dr.

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Vehse say, "In Shakespeare, fate and individual will amount to the same thing. The man's resolution is his destiny." (Shakespeare als Protestant, Politiker, Psycolog, und Dichter. Dr. Ed. Vehse, 8vo. p. 57. Hamburgh, 1851.) "Man is his own star," as the wise guide to "SUCCESS IN LIFE" tells the young Americans, in the same noble strain that has just prompted the citizens of London to place prominently in their Guildhall, the like motto of our Wellington's shield, VIRTUTIS FORTUNA COMES, for the encouragement of their children's children.

More, however, than the present test of official candidates is wanted for the fitting reformation of the public service. Not only must the "desert," protected by the statute, be *competitively* recognised as the first step to office, but desert *in* office—the diligent discharge of duty,—signal ability,—great integrity—must be titles to advancement;—favouritism in such advancement, from every cause, must be checked,—"interest" suppressed,—and the wronged must be allowed judicial means of redress. For these ends our supreme administrative tribunal, the Privy Council, must no longer be shut against complainants, as it now is, at the partial discretion of any department appealed from. Three words, in amendment of the Privy Council Act of 1833, which were proposed in that year, when it was heedlessly passed

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without them, will set this matter right, and throw a new spirit into the public service in all its world-wide branches. The victims of the present, most corrupting, system which clogs appeals from error, will call down grateful blessings for the change; and the William Patersons of the country, of whom there are many in their degree, will no longer suffer from official abuses. A greater good will be the reward of staying these abuses. For the incapacity and intrigue, which, under the despotism of office, now of necessity mar the best designs, affairs will be guided by the intelligence and the integrity which spring up of themselves when reasonable responsibility is a characteristic of the administration of affairs.

A new era is recently opened in the study of British history, by the very extensive disclosure of state papers of all periods; and if to examine some candidates is an earnest of general administrative reform, this free access now granted to our Records, which largely concern the public service, will bring it under full review; and so secure every other improvement. Hence all our history may be hereafter written with the sources of truth at the writer's command; and that which was almost inevitably "bold untruth, or timid suppression," may henceforth become a faithful, if not an eloquent guide. This is a thorough revolution in historical lore; and, trusting that such sources have been here

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used with diligence and discretion in the study of Paterson's story, the benefit thus enjoyed, is thankfully acknowledged. If of those priceless materials—a few belonging to circumstances in our history little known, have been consulted with very moderate skill to illustrate his writings, this reproduction of his works may obtain approbation, and promote important public objects.

Among other measures of social policy, proposed by Paterson for Scotland, his plan of universal education, and that of occupation for offenders, instead of the halter and exile, were conspicuous. Both of those designs are yet wanting throughout the three kingdoms. Difficulties impede popular education; and Committees of Parliament cling to transportation, unmindful of its unspeakable and irrepressible horrors, when home discipline and home employment are at our command to prevent their occurrence.

The value of the principles actually carried out by him in legislation at home and in colonial enterprise, may be measured exactly in contrast with the views of other eminent men in his time; and these views are by no means yet given up. Thus industry and intelligence, with their just reward, were the means he relied upon to elevate the people, whom such a man as Fletcher of Saltoun would have literally

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enslaved to make them laborious. Thus he advocated free trade when even Addison called for protection. Thus he provided for the admittance of Roman Catholic and Jew to citizenship in Darien, when the grant of a West India island was obtained by Sir John Hoskyns of Hereford, upon the express condition of excluding both from the colony. Thus he insisted upon the need of a popular element in the *home* administration of colonial affairs, when even John Locke was content with *Bureaucracy*.

Thus in banking he never swerved from the safe basis of gold and silver for the most extended system of *transferable bills;* whilst Chamberlain and the other antagonists of his system eagerly planned their credit-currency upon *inconvertible* paper; and when John Law at last succeeded in introducing that currency, to the enormous injury of both France and England, at the moment Paterson was sinking into the grave, neglected. Finally, Paterson, with pre-eminent ability as an economist, prepared his excellent systems of accounts to check abuses, and of taxation to meet all exigencies and discharge the public debts, whilst the disregard of his advice to this day occasions needless embarrassment, only borne by resources which our liberty and our energies seem to render inexhaustible.

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The earliest and latest notices of Paterson, expressly treating his story as enveloped in mysteries unknown to his cotemporaries, exhibit curious specimens of the errors into which writers fall when they indulge in conjecture without consulting proper sources of information. Sir J. Dalrymple, writing when the house was standing in which Paterson was born, and when tradition was recent, says his birth was unknown; that he made a religious mission the pretext to visit America; that he examined the Isthmus, and was satisfied that at Acta, in the mouth of the River Darien, there was a fine harbour; concluding with this statement, opposed to the best historical evidence:—"Paterson survived many years *in Scotland*, pitied, respected, but neglected. He claimed reparation for his losses, but got nothing; for a grant to him would have been only an act of humanity, not a political job."—(Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, 4to. Edinburgh, 1788, iii. 89-107.) The reverse of all these assertions is the truth.

In the present year, with equal oversight of evidence, the writer of papers on "The Scot Abroad," in a popular Scottish magazine, attributes Paterson's "total obliteration from the knowledge of posterity" *to his not having written a book*. With abundant evidence, on the contrary, that Paterson was really a voluminous

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writer in London for many years after his ruin in the Darien Company's disasters; and with a declaration in his will of 1718, proved soon afterwards, that he was "of Westminster," and with several obituary notices at the time, this ingenious essayist regrets that he did not make himself a "record, as it were," *by a book;* adding that, "hence we cannot say when or where he died." (Blackwood's Magazine, July, 1856, p. 91.)

His life of many trials had the melancholy close exhibited in an official letter a very few weeks before his death, and betrayed even by a signature, the fac-simile of which indicates the writer's prematurely feeble hand. In youth, persecution only gave a spring to his native energies, and spurred him to become, what he sagaciously saw his countrymen were capable of becoming, great in commerce. In ripe manhood, his perfect success in forming the Bank of England prepared the way for his well-conceived vast colonial enterprise in Darien; and he met the unmerited difficulties of that enterprise with extraordinary self-sacrifice and the wisest moderation. When stripped of competence he not only bore distress and the borrower's mortifications without repining, but his rare abilities in finance and his patriotism gave him weight enough materially to promote the best public act of the time, *the Union;* and our most vital financial measure, the *Sinking*

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Fund. With a life so passed, and when a large parliamentary grant indemnified his losses after many delays, it was to be expected that trouble would no more befall him. The event was otherwise; for official mismanagement the most culpable, and gravely to be suspected of design, again aggravated his former losses, by rendering that provision precarious.

In 1718 events were about to expose the intelligence and the integrity of all the statesmen of Europe to the severest struggle. He took part manfully in that struggle, which, of all men, he was the most capable of helping to the best issue; but his few last days were gloomy. The wise resolve of the Government which had relieved his pecuniary distress at the accession of George the First, was not strong enough to bring him into the high official station that belonged to him. The corrupt kept possession of the Treasury. Addison, with greater claims undoubtedly than even Paterson, had extreme difficulty in making his way, as is proved by documents that have escaped notice. John Law, who was forcing his fatal system upon France, had supporters here; for, as well remarked by the Earl Stanhope (Lord Mahon), events there have ever produced effects among us. The Mississippi bubble was to be followed by the South Sea Bubble. During 1716, 1717, and 1718, as Law rose in France, Paterson sank in England, and

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early in 1719 he died. All the circumstances of his story deserve to be studied for our instruction, but in no one point is that story more worthy careful development, than in the particulars which thus preceded his death.

A late tribute to his name is the least reparation posterity can make for his wrongs; and the appreciation of his works will raise a fitting monument to the man, whilst rewarding us with his lessons of wisdom; and do honour to ourselves in doing justice to his merit.

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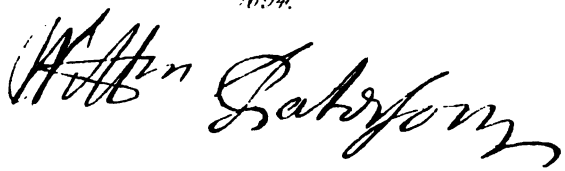
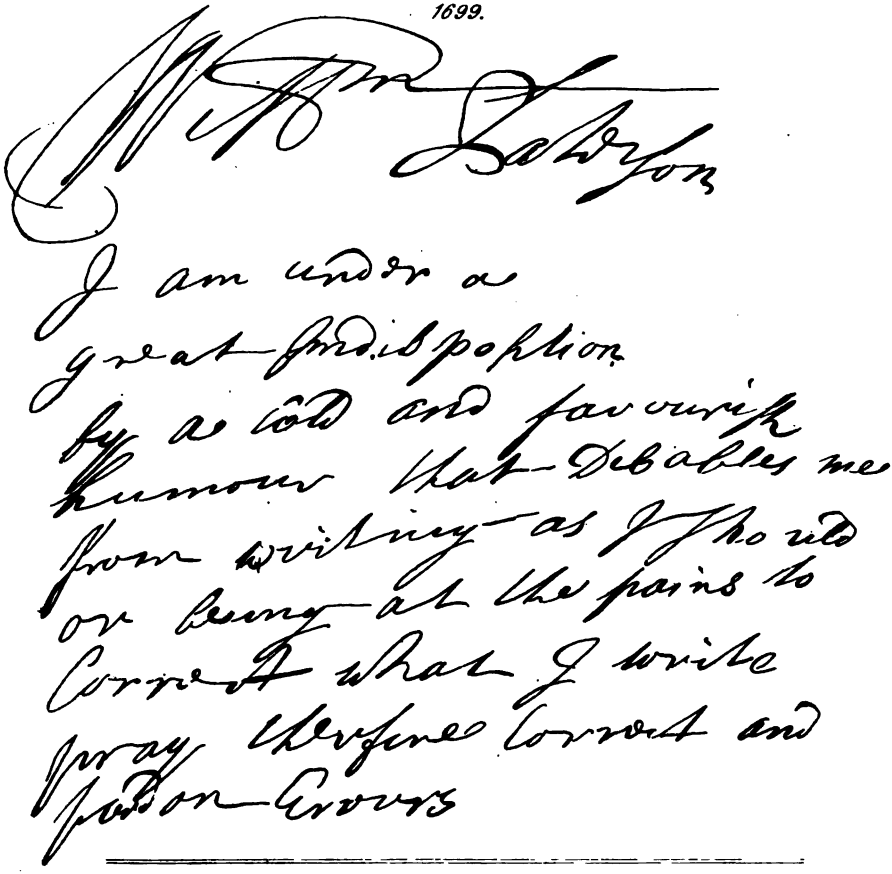
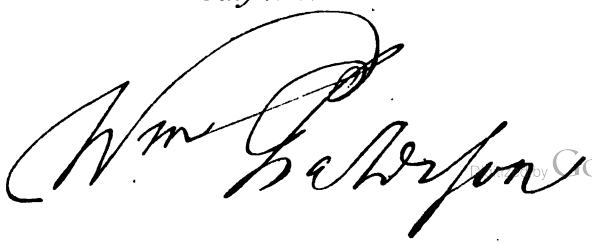
Fac-Simile from a Receipt in the Bank of England.
1694.



Fac-Simile from an Original Letter in the Advocates' Library Edinburgh.
1699.



Fac-Simile from the Original Will in Doctors' Commons.
July 1718.



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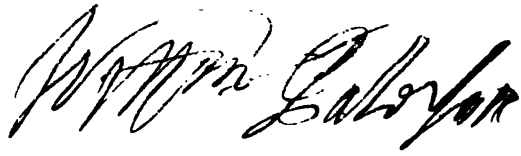
Fac-Simile from an Original Letter in the State Paper Office
8th Dec.r 1719



Bristol, 4th. July, 1728.

Sir,

Ten days after Sight of this my first of Exchange, pay to me or my Order, at the White Eagle Tavern, in Suffolk Street, One Hundred and Fifty guineas and place the Same to Acct. of

Your humble Servant,

Paul Daranda.

Accept Jacob: Tonson

To Jacob Tonson,
Merchant in London.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION,

1658—1719.

I.

WILLIAM PATERSON of Dumfrieshire, the author of the four tracts contained in this volume, was by profession a merchant, (App. A) who in early life attained the highest successes, in the midst of which he became the victim of a great reverse. But the difficulties to which he was long exposed, after being deservedly the object of almost national homage, have been even magnified through the strange indifference of posterity to his eminent qualities. Of his two chief works, the Bank of England, and the plan of the Darien Colony, the former has proved a model of usefulness, whilst the latter was the grandest of conceptions, the failure of which is in no wise attributable to him. Other noble designs of his, developed with remarkable ability and most industrious zeal for the good of the three kingdoms, in their financial and commercial relations abroad as well as at home, even surpass those two objects in importance.

The portions of his writings here republished are taken either from early manuscripts, bearing clear

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evidence of being his productions, or from printed tracts published in his lifetime, and then known to have come from his pen. He seems to have ever studiously avoided giving his name to his writings, as his great cotemporary, Lord Somers, is recorded in the "Freeholder" to have also published his important works anonymously. In his case, as in other curious instances, the credit of such writings has been unscrupulously taken for others than their authors. The authorship of the present works is given to Paterson upon proofs adduced with the less hesitation, as it would be difficult to account for the reputation he once enjoyed for capacity in the higher branches of calculation, unless, in the absence of very great wealth and the weightiest mercantile standing and political power, at least writings of this character could be traced to him. The strong evidence depended upon only favours a fact which is in itself in a high degree probable.

The four works are still of public interest. Their chief subjects are,—the progress of Scotland proposed in that of 1700; the extension of British intercourse with Central America in that of 1701; the legislative union of England, Ireland, and Scotland, in that of 1706; and the history of the Bank, Customs reform, and the redemption of the Debt in that of 1717. Seeing also that his authority upon whatever he took part in was once pre-eminent, there is reason to believe that his opinions upon great questions, still warmly controverted, will be received with consideration. His views upon banking were successful in defiance of many obstacles; and those views have contributed largely to our national prosperity. But

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he possessed far better titles than even that great merit, to recommend a careful survey of his career and character. He enjoyed both the confidence of William III. and the protection of George I. in acknowledgment of his steady and enlightened political principles, as well as on account of his profound knowledge of finance. His judgment also much influenced, although it did not sufficiently control, important measures of four distinguished ministers. If the *Earl of Halifax* had followed Paterson's sound opinions more implicitly in regard to the coinage, that wise reform would have been less costly, speedier, and more complete. (App. A 2.) The *Lord Treasurer Godolphin* employed him in preparing the public accounts for the equitable adjustment of the taxation of both countries after the union of England with Scotland, and his clear summary of those accounts, several times reprinted, is a model for such calculations. It was a great mistake on the part of that statesman not to take more advantage of Paterson's abilities by placing him in the Treasury, or at the Board of Trade, even to the exclusion of the poets Addison and Prior.

Again, his principles of finance were borrowed by *Harley, Earl of Oxford*, when Lord Treasurer, and his views of American trade were also adopted in the South Sea Company founded by his Lordship, who did not however fully comprehend his views in either case, although in the Earl's patent of nobility credit is prominently given upon both heads. He failed as Prime Minister to do justice to Paterson's unquestionable claims. Finally, in 1717 *Walpole* constructed the

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great sinking fund of that year upon the advice and writings of Paterson; but afterwards, when himself at the head of the Treasury, he weakened the measure he had from the first imperfectly adopted. Walpole, however, had already in 1715 joined heartily in securing the indemnity due to Paterson which Harley had refused. (App. B.)

Each of the works here produced will be shewn by special evidences to have been written by Paterson, and the consideration of those evidences, and some remarkable passages in the works themselves, will furnish good illustrations of his life, and fully justify the very highest estimate of his powers and character. Whilst he is best known as the projector of the Bank of England, and of the Darien settlement in Central America, his relations to both undertakings have been mistaken from inattention to his antecedents in both. It is vaguely thought that he was a needy adventurer—a friendless Scot—whose bold suggestions were unscrupulously turned to account by wealthier men. On the contrary, a careful view of facts will shew that the Bank of England grew out of combinations in which he held a chief place as projector, and no mean one as a sharer in completing its establishment. In the vast scheme of Darien, he matured the thoughts of many years, during which he was a prosperous man of business, only failing to become one of the wealthiest merchants of the time, because the acquirement of riches was in him secondary in point of interest to the realization of his great views of national concern. In a memoir laid before George I. in 1714-15, and printed in a future page

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from the original in the *General Repository of Records* at the Rolls, there is a clue to a satisfactory estimate of this "extraordinary" merchant's mind. He had stated his design of an improved scheme of imposts to relieve the taxpayers and increase the revenue, and then supports his pretensions in the following words:

"His experience abroad as well as at home," he says, "during twenty-nine years, especially in matters of general trade and public revenues, gives him hopes to be likewise useful in the great conjuncture of the succession of the Protestant line to the crown of Great Britain, towards inspecting and representing some material things relating to His Majesty's revenues and estates in Germany; that by a true knowledge of the trade, manufactures, and situation thereof, it might be better seen what sort of communication and correspondence would be mutually beneficial to us as to them, who were become subjects of the same Sovereign. Former neglects of these or like things made it no easy matter to put them in any tolerable light."

Although a successful merchant, the vicissitudes of his adventurous life, in singular contrast with the calm of his mind and the sobriety of his usual pursuits, lend something of the interest of romance to his career.

Paterson was in London in 1692, and his name has been first met with in connection with an important financial subject, in the Journals of the House of Commons of that year in the report of a Committee. It is there mentioned as well known, and he has himself declared that from 1686 he devoted himself "to matters of general trade

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and public revenues, *abroad and at home.*" Tradition traces him several years on the continent in mercantile business; and he certainly lived in the West Indies in the reigns of Charles and James II. From 1693 to 1719, when he died, it was he who chiefly opposed the use of inconvertible paper-money both in England and Scotland, and perhaps in Holland, whether issuable by the State or by private persons. At the outset of that opposition, and long before the time of John Law, powerful men in the House of Commons advocated the issue of such paper, of which Paterson then demonstrated the danger, and it is believed that his efforts contributed largely to its rejection. He certainly prevented the Scottish Parliament adopting the same paper when proposed twelve years later by Law, in 1705, with much support; and the United Parliament seems all his life to have equally respected his sound judgment on this head. The South Sea Bubble arose altogether after his decease, so that he is not responsible for its disasters. It is even thought to be probable that if he had survived only a few months longer he would have effectually strengthened the numerous minority in the House of Commons which resisted that scheme. It was his school of financiers the Duchess of Marlborough must have had in view, when her Grace rejected the temptation of the rapidly-rising South Sea Stock with the remark, that those who were skilled in calculation held such prices could not possibly be sustained. (App. C.)

Paterson, profoundly versed in financial science, applied it practically, and with singular judgment and

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force, to private commercial business, and to the management of the public treasury. His disinterestedness and purity of conduct were almost miraculous for a corrupt age, which, however, we can scarcely call unparalleled; for in some criminal cases the present outrivals the past, inasmuch as a general progress leads delinquents to add hypocrisy to what before was only barefaced offending. His versatile talents, his large experience, and the trust reposed in his judgment enabled him to carry out, as readily as to plan, the weightiest undertakings. Whilst English ministers were unjust to the merits they were not blind to, in this distinguished Scottish merchant, the wealthy capitalists of London and the whole people of Scotland accorded him their confidence in his two remarkable designs —the Bank of England and the Darien Settlement. Tried from early youth by persecution, in common with all his Presbyterian countrymen, he was not corrupted by the prosperity which soon repaid his vigorous exertions in exile. Incapable of giving way to the ills of life, and ever disposed to discover some resource in the midst of difficulties, he is one of the illustrious examples of men whose personal respectability stands the hard proofs both of great prosperity and great reverses. His very considerable influence in society was solely owing to his superior intelligence; and, although he was peculiarly happy in the enduring attachment of old friends, it was to that intellectual superiority he owed at last the substantial indemnity obtained from the new protection of the court under the influence of George I.

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Grievous as his sufferings had been, and aggravated by the delay of justice in regard to his claims, he did not sink, as commonly thought, into obscurity after the ruin of his Darien enterprise. (App. D.) Instead of returning to his own country to end his days a "poor, neglected man," indisputable evidence is produced in the contents of this volume of his untiring activity, and of the high reputation he enjoyed in England, as well as in Scotland, for eighteen years afterwards. In that period he wrote these works, which are submitted to public opinion, in a strong confidence that, although they will not place him as to style on a level with Addison or Steele, nevertheless, for profound reasoning, for elevated sentiments, for keenness of observation, and for occasional force of expression, they show this enlightened man of business might well have become a great writer had his early studies been duly continued. It would be absurd to compare his works with those of Swift, or even with those of Defoe, but he was equal to them for fertility of invention and in laborious industry; and immeasurably their superior in elevation and consistency of principle and in conduct. But whatever degree of reputation may be reasonably insisted upon, either in favour of the writings of Paterson or for his plans of social improvement, it is the personal merit of the man that will the most surely fix public esteem. Difficulties only stimulated his courage, as success only urged him to attempt greater things. He sought wealth to use it worthily; and, when it was lost, he still evinced fine qualities, the exercise of which is the best use to be made of wealth. As respectable when struggling

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against disaster as when at the height of prosperity, his ultimate triumph, obtained by him in Parliament, is less interesting on his account than as a lesson to Governments, and an encouragement to those who discharge their duties in the public service without just consideration. He is indeed a man to be ranked high among the benefactors of our kind.

II.

The writings of such a man upon important public affairs familiar to him, will be received with satisfaction, and they are accompanied with only a brief notice of his life, from an unwillingness to present imperfect materials to the reader, when the appearance of this volume may perhaps lead to the disclosure of many valuable stores of information respecting portions of his career now imperfectly known. The representatives of many who were concerned with him in public transactions, both in England and Scotland, possess such stores; and great liberality already experienced in the communication of correct intelligence respecting Paterson, justifies a reliance upon further aid of the same character. Our daily discovery of neglected historical sources for the deeply important period from 1670 to 1720, which embraced the most active part of his life, encourages this sanguine expectation. Even personal traditions may be consulted with advantage for that period, as can be shown by some instances of singular interest where family recollections and individual character, which have been thrown aside as belonging almost

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exclusively to romance, have furnished material contributions to grave history, and even to science. (App. E.)

A special motive for deferring the biography of Paterson until his select writings shall be appreciated, arises out of the favourable result of inquiries already made about him in official records. Those records are but recently opened to free inspection for literary objects; and the catalogues of their contents, so indispensable for all purposes, are only begun to be formed. Weighty points, therefore, to be soon probably cleared up, are still obscure. Recently there have been found at the Rolls, and in the State Paper Office, materials to correct an universal error as to the ultimate treatment of Paterson by the Government, with documents to explain the secret policy by which it was guided. The value of the new rule, in this respect, to the diligent inquirer, cannot be exaggerated. Even in the existing condition of our records, scattered in various public and private repositories, and with wide gaps in their series, they have been saved from destruction with a fidelity most honourable to their learned keepers of former days, when ministers were careless, and the public was unmindful of these titles of national fame. Above all, the student will gratefully acknowledge the facilities courteously afforded by the able antiquaries now entrusted with their custody. Under these circumstances, it is thought that the revival of attention to Paterson's writings is a fitting step towards the full disclosure of his whole career indispensable to a popular biography of him. Meanwhile early tracts, official papers, the journals of Parliament, the statutes, and a few traditions,

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have furnished materials for the formation of a skeleton of his story, which few will deem altogether unsatisfactory.

III.

The little that is known of Paterson's early years comes from tradition: but his will supplies the leading fact, that he was born in April, 1658, it being executed in July, 1718, when, as it states, he was sixty years and three months old. He died in the following January. His father's family, the Patersons, were eminent of old, and in his time they had representatives among the high modern Episcopalians and adherents of the House of Stuart. They had descended from a Scandinavian stock, originally planted in Northumberland, and had not been without distinction on both sides the border. Although no registration of his baptism has been found, the secondary evidence of his birth in Scotland, of Scottish parents, is decisive. The directors of the Darien Company, who were exclusively Scots when the enterprise had become confined to Scottish resources by the hostility of the English Court, deliberately recorded their acknowledgment of the services of William Paterson to his "native country," by leaving good prospects in London, in order to promote her welfare, and secure the establishment of their Company. This entry is to be seen in the original minutes of their proceedings, preserved in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, and it is given entire in the *Darien Papers*, as extracted in the Appendix E. It could not possibly have referred to any but a Scots-

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man; and the individual to whom it did refer is identified by frequent cotemporary notices with William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, whose authorship of the contents of the present volume will not be questioned by attentive readers. (App. F.) Nor was a doubt ever raised till recently as to his birth in Scotland. Tradition is uniform on this head; and the honour of being his birth-place has long been claimed for Lochmaben, in Tinwald, in Dumfrieshire, with which county many associations belonging to him are connected. Topographical works of repute support the claim, and the house in which he was believed to be born was pulled down only a few years ago. It used to be pointed out to the curious traveller as the home of the great financier. In Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Accounts of Scotland, compiled mainly from the correspondence of parochial ministers, it is stated positively in the report of the Rev. James Laurie, of Lochmaben, that he was born there. His own subsequent relations with Dumfrieshire were so intimate, that he was chosen a member of the first United Parliament for its boroughs; and several families belonging to that county assert their descent from his brothers and sisters, or from intermarriages with their descendants. Tradition says that his mother early formed his religious and even political principles, which separated him in after-life from the Episcopalians and Jacobites, of whom his paternal relative, the last Archbishop of Glasgow, was a most energetic leader; as another of the name, Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, was attainted of treason for taking the side of the Pretender

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in 1715. But, decidedly as William Paterson opposed their party, no trace of bitterness against them is discoverable in any of his writings upon Scottish politics. On the other hand, he is mentioned with respect and kindness by their most determined advocate. (App. G.)

All his writings exhibit him as an industrious student, and in his youth a superior education was well provided for in the remotest parts of the south of Scotland. Burnet, indeed, who disliked the Kirk and its professors, asserts with some acrimony that he "had no education," which can only be true in the qualified sense that, quitting home at an early age to escape from religious persecution, his progress was stopped before he went to the university or even to any high school. This, probably was about 1675, when he was seventeen years old, and could certainly have acquired a considerable stock of school knowledge. Traces of his residence in England soon after that date have been met with, when he seems to have stayed a short time with an aged female relative of his mother at Bristol. It is asserted that at the decease of this friend he received from her a legacy, which may have enabled him to set out upon the adventurous career by which he at last gained distinction. He probably went into Holland before his first voyage to America, where he was settled for several years previous to 1687. His first conception of a colony in Darien was in 1684—a fact positively stated in his petition to King William, introducing the second work of the present collection. He had connections with New England, as appears from one of his letters written from Darien in 1699, and published in Boston at the time.

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How early he formed these connections does not appear, but his first wife was the widow of a minister of that colony named Bridge; and a large portion of the population of the West Indies, as well as of the northern colonies, was composed of the refugee Puritans of England and Scottish Covenanters, whose religious habits he probably followed without being a missionary. There is a tradition in Dumfrieshire that he was admitted to take part in the prohibited services of the Covenanters, but that his preaching was not successful; and the abusive verses of the writers employed by the English minister to run down the Darien cause, taunt him as "*predicant* Paterson." He may have known Roger Williams, the patriarch of Providence, in Rhode Island, who died in 1682. Williams was the first promulgator of perfect religious toleration in the colonies, and Paterson adopted the noble principle in his own constitution for Darien. It has been concluded from various circumstances that his colonial home was New Providence in the Bahamas, where a governor in his time was a Presbyterian *minister of the name of Bridge*. (App. H.) He must have entered actively into the trade with the North American colonies, at that time, as still, the source from which the West Indians received many supplies. And he was well acquainted with nautical affairs, and seems to have shared in the successful undertaking of Sir William Phipps to raise treasure to the amount of 300,000*l.* from a sunken Spanish galleon near New Providence.

That he possessed very great influence throughout the West Indies is expressly established by an interest-

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ing document lately found among the original Darien manuscripts in Edinburgh, stating his reputation in the West Indies to be such, that wherever he should be settled, thither the people would throng from all the plantations to join him.

It has been asserted that he was one of the buccaneers, and so gained the knowledge he possessed of Darien and of the places of their resort on the Spanish main. This is assuredly a great error. No evidence has been produced of his having been so engaged at any time, and the undeviating character of his life is opposed to the supposition. It is further certain, from a journal of one the parties in his Darien expedition, laid before the Royal Society at the time, and published some years later by Derham, that he had *not* before visited the spot in which the Scottish settlement was fixed in 1698. (App. I.) His knowledge of Central America was gained, doubtless, by diligent inquiry. It is mentioned in the Darien papers that he possessed valuable maps and geographical materials, which are significant rather of the wealthy and curious collector than of the reckless seafaring adventurer. Burnet only says "he got information" *from* buccaneers when consorting with them. The State Paper Office is full of details of the proceedings of Captain Sharp, and others of their chiefs, who then visited the Bahamas and all the plantations with the countenance of the Government. Sir Henry Morgan, their leader at Panama, had become Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, and many of his despatches are recorded in that office; whence his real story ought to be written to replace the romances of which he is a

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favourite subject. Paterson, doubtless, knew him as well as the others; but it would be as reasonable to revive the party calumny, that Lord Somers was the accomplice of the pirate Kid, as to charge Paterson with taking any share in the guilty adventures of the buccaneers. Their relations, indeed, with the merchants and colonists of the West Indies and North America, and also with all the maritime governments of Europe opposed to Spain, are topics for an impartial work worthy of a British or American historian. The strange manners, the heroic bravery, and the crimes of those wild warriors of the sea are full of interest. They had been well studied by ELIOT WARBURTON, who perished so miserably in the Amazon, when setting out to visit the scenes of their exploits. Of all men he was perhaps the best qualified to describe those exploits and to appreciate the influence of these daring men upon the waning fortunes of Spain in America. In that accomplished writer of romantic and philosophic travel the Editor of this volume had a friendly associate in his task whose loss he has daily cause to deplore. The ingenious account of Paterson's supposed early days, constructed by Mr. Warburton in the "Merchant Prince," shews what he would have produced when he should have substituted correct information for a pleasant tale which he supplied mainly from a fertile fancy. One wide anachronism runs through the whole of his romance. In it John Law is represented to have been of about Paterson's age. They are made to be youths together; whereas Paterson, the true financier, was certainly thirteen years older than his cousin, the

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brilliant, gambling adventurer. To this fundamental error of fact is superadded the more serious mistake of attributing a community of opinions to those two celebrated men; when it is Paterson's highest honour to have uniformly opposed the financial delusions of Law. Paterson never contemplated a settlement in Central America, but as a means of building up a great, free emporium of trade. Law took the Missisippi region for a simple basis of his state stock-jobbing and boundless operations in paper money. Mr. Warburton had, however, seized correctly the fine traits of Paterson's character, and, after publishing the "Merchant Prince," he at once began to take an exact view of his story upon reading the second of the works included in the present volume; namely, the memoir on Spanish America.

IV.

Whatever were the occupations of William Paterson abroad before 1685, he had then formed his idea of a great settlement in Central America, to be independent of Spain, which became the one ruling object of his life; and that object not only merited the praise given to it in the last century, of being calculated to have improved the policy of all civilized states in the western hemisphere, but the important events of the present day in the same regions bring out the genius of Paterson as a statesman in the most brilliant light, in reference to the capabilities of Darien. The rise, indeed, of independent states upon the ruin of the transatlantic dominions of Spain calls for very different combinations

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now, since those states are subject to new influences beyond the reach of British power and which the jarring counsels of all Europe cannot guide. He submitted his views to James II., who was disposed to favour them until absorbed by designs which cost him his crown. Paterson then offered his settlement to the Elector of Brandenburg—the founder of the Prussian monarchy, himself no mean mercantile projector, and who was only prevented adopting the enterprise by the jealousy entertained at his court to the disadvantage of the stranger. (App. K.)

This fondly-cherished design did not stand in the way of the practical, judicious Paterson's persevering application to his business as a merchant. He prospered in that business, and became a member of the Merchant-Taylors' Company. He took part zealously with those who were planning the Revolution of 1688, which will account for his being at this period much in the coffee-houses of Amsterdam. (App. K 2.) He also indulged his taste for various honourable enterprises at home, amongst which was one for the better supply of North London with water from reservoirs south of the Hampstead and Highgate hills. This he undertook with the support of so distinguished a man as Sir John Trenchard, as shown by the records of the still existing water-company. At this time he resided in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, where the old office of that company long stood. (App. L.)

He soon became known as an able financier at a period remarkable for progress, if not of proficiency, in commercial and statistical science. Sir Josiah Child,

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Sir William Petty, and Locke are the three great names commonly cited on this head; but numerous tracts testify that many of their contemporaries were not far inferior to them, and Paterson's writings and his official papers place him at least on a level in financial science with these illustrious men. He warmly supported the correct principles upon which the plan of Lowndes for debasing the coinage was refuted; and so he seems to have incurred the dislike of one who for nearly thirty years was his formidable opponent at the Treasury.

He has himself fixed upon 1686 as the year from which he began to give serious attention to "matters of general trade and public revenue," having before doubtless been devoted to his own commercial business.

So early as in 1690 a valuable work by Sir Dolby Thomas upon the West Indies, reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, must have been partly written by Paterson. Besides containing the germs of his plan of banking and currency, it proposes the same enlightened views of colonial government which he planned for Darien, and which may be traced to an old admirable system of *home* administration for our colonies, now demanding consideration in order to the indispensable reform of the Colonial Office. (App. M.) This tract is dedicated to Sir Robert Davers, M. P. for Suffolk, once a Barbadoes planter, and a persevering advocate of Paterson's claims upon the Government, until they were at length settled, if not satisfied, in 1715 by his aid. It insists upon the plan of popular colonial government sketched by Cromwell, and continued in the first years of Charles

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II.'s reign; and it has parallelisms to portions of his known writings. (App. N.)

In 1691—a time when banking by companies, and paper currency duly guarded, were being matured—he was a leading witness before a Committee of Parliament appointed to investigate measures to meet the urgent public needs, when he advocated measures for their relief, which clearly prepared the way for his Bank of England.

The following report of the Committee is taken from the Journals, vol. x. p. 621, 18 January, 1692:—

"Mr. Foley reports from the Committee appointed to receive proposals for raising a sum of money towards carrying on the war against France, *on a fund of perpetual interest*, that there were several persons interested in the banker's debts, ready to take for their debts and a new loan of an equal amount, a perpetual yearly interest of six per cent. by act of Parliament. They were six or seven gentlemen whose principal may be 29,378*l.* Others offered 5,400*l.* And those concerned with bankers said, they did believe in a short time they could get most of the people concerned to subscribe in like manner. In six days they brought a list of several persons subscribing 29,775*l.* Another Member of the House declared himself willing to accept the same proposal as to 5,000*l.*, his debt.

"When this Committee first met, a paper was brought proposing that on settling a yearly rent of 65,000*l.*, one million should be advanced. Sixty thousand pounds would be for interest, and 5,000*l.* to trustees for management, so as the subscribers may be trustees, *and*

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their bills of property should be current. In this case they offer to advance 200,000*l.*, *to be ready as a bank,* to exchange such current bills as should be brought to be exchanged, the better to give credit thereunto, and make the said bills the better to circulate; so as they be allowed five per cent for the said 200,000*l.* for the first year only, and a tally to the said trustees to pay themselves for the same.

"The Committee were of opinion, not to receive any proposal which required making the bills of property current, so as to force them as payment on any without their consent. *But they acquainted Mr. Paterson, who made this proposal,* that they would receive any proposal to advance one million on a perpetual fund of interest, to be in the nature of a purchase, where they might assign their interest as they pleased, to any one who consented thereto. Then Mr. Paterson said—he believed the gentlemen would come up to that, and not insist on having the bills made current. The next day he said—In discourse with the gentlemen concerned they would not further proceed; but he believed that himself and some others might come up to advance 500,000*l.* In this manner 200,000*l.* would be ready in a few days, and he believed some others would come in and make it up 500,000*l.*

"On Saturday appeared again, and then said, about eighteen or twenty gentlemen had appointed a meeting on Tuesday next to consider the matter, and on Wednesday they would send him an answer. But nothing was proposed to the Committee on which they could rely."

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He was now engaged in a vigorous controversy against Dr. Hugh Chamberlayn (a precursor of John Law, then a very young man, and certainly not occupied with such matters) against a scheme of paper money inconvertible into gold or silver. (App. O.) His opponent had weight enough in the House of Commons to get a Committee to report in favour of such a paper currency, but it was not adopted (Journals H. C. vol. x. pp. 22-80, 1693); and the next year the Bank of England was completed. Internal proof only connects the witness, Paterson, with the author of the tracts in this volume; but solid ground exists for the capital point of the identity of the *William Paterson*, whose name stands in the charter of the Bank as one of its first Directors, with him of that name who founded the Scottish African, or Darien Company, and who is included under the designation of a *merchant* in an impeachment preferred by the House of Commons in 1695, as concerned in that Company.

1. In Boyer's Political State for the month of May 1711, Paterson is positively called "the chief projector of the Bank of England," and at the same time a creditor of the Government who has difficulty in obtaining payment of his Darien claim, and the person employed upon the public accounts at the Union. His agency in regard to all *three*, the Bank, the African Company, and the Union, is an important point among the subjects of the present volume.

2. The signature *Willm. Paterson* to the letters ad-

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dressed to the directors of the African Company, 1699, and preserved in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, is the same with that of a letter of 1718, kept in the State Paper Office, and addressed to Secretary Stanhope, respecting a lost *equivalent* debenture for 50*l.*, a security for the Darien debt of the Government to Paterson; and the same signature *Willm. Paterson* to original Bank documents of 1694 is also extant. His handwriting was peculiar, as may be seen by the fac-similes in this volume.

3. The same signature is to be seen to Paterson's will in Doctors' Commons.

V.

The great merit of founding the Bank of England is universally attributed to him; and it will be an acceptable tribute to the correctness of public opinion on this important portion of his history to produce unquestionable evidence of the fact having been so. This evidence will be found in the text of the last of his own works, here republished, and in a few notes to that text.

Paterson realised, in establishing the Bank of England, in 1694, what had been for more than forty years the object of English statesmen and merchants. That object was very seriously discussed during the civil wars, and under the Commonwealth. The countenance shown by Cromwell to the Jews favoured it; and at the early sittings of the first council of trade at Mercers' Hall upon the Restoration a distinct proposition was received, and referred to a powerful committee,

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for "the establishment of banks and lombards among us, as in Holland." Numerous writers treated of the matter, and the success of the plan was probably promoted by the shutting up the Exchequer under Charles II. With such antecedents Paterson followed out his own original views from 1690 until *his* Bank was founded in 1694 with the greatest success. (App. O 2.)

He was one of the first directors of the Bank of England upon a qualification of 2,000*l.* stock, which he sold out before the end of a year, in 1695, and thus voluntarily withdrew from the board. It has been asserted that more wealthy men than himself took advantage of his abilities to establish the institution, and then "defrauded" him of the reward due to him for founding it. It has been even said that he was expelled from the direction. (App. P.) No evidence is discoverable on either head. There was a strong difference of opinion between him and some of his colleagues respecting the Bank's legitimate operations, and they outvoted him. On that occasion he seems to have been without support, his old friend Mr. Godfrey having been killed in the trenches at the siege of Namur. When he failed to convince the directors of the prudence of his views he proposed what was really another stock company in London, upon the following proposals, which significantly mark his own mercantile standing; although their result is involved in much obscurity.

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"*Feb.* 12, 1694.—PROPOSALS made by WILLIAM PATERSON, of LONDON, Esq., on behalf of himself and others, for Consolidating the Perpetual Fund of Interest payable to the Orphans and other Creditors of the City of London, by virtue of the Act of Parliament intituled, 'An Act for Relief of the Orphans and other Creditors of the City of London, and for Improving the same so Consolidated above the Interest payable by the said Act.'

"I. That a Book of Subscription shall be prepared, which shall be opened at Merchant-Taylors' Hall, London, every day (Sundays only excepted), from nine o'clock in the morning to twelve at noon, and from three until six in the afternoon, and shall lie open upon and from Thursday the 14th day of this instant February, until Thursday the 14th day of March next inclusive, or until four hundred thousand pounds stock in the said fund shall be subscribed, which shall first happen, and no longer, for taking subscriptions of the said fund, pursuant to these proposals.

"II. That Paul Daranda, John Asgill, William Broughton, Paul Docminique, George Finch, Francis Gosfright, Nathaniel Herne, Edward Herrys, Nathaniel Hornby, Robert Lancashire, Samuel Ongly, and William Sheppard, together with the said William Paterson, shall be of the number of the first trustees, and they or the major part of them shall have the full and absolute direction of this subscription, and of all designs and undertaking srelating thereunto, until other trustees, not exceeding thirteen in number, to be chosen in

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manner hereinafter mentioned, shall be added unto them.

"III. And whereas the design for improving this fund can no ways be reduced to practice, unless a suitable number of fit and useful persons be qualified for this trust, by becoming participants and proprietors therein: and the purchasing of such reasonable part or interest in the said fund being extremely difficult, unless the purchasers should be content to be most exorbitantly imposed upon: for remedy thereof it is hereby agreed, that ten per cent. of this subscription shall be equally divided amongst such as shall be the first trustees, they and every of them paying at the rate of fifty-five pounds for every hundred pounds of the said fund, which shall be equally paid to every subscriber in proportion to his or her sum subscribed and part contributed.

"IV. That upon the fifteenth day of March next, or as soon as the said four hundred thousand pounds shall be subscribed, which shall first happen, the subscription book shall be closed; and after the closing thereof, the said trustees herein named shall give three days' public notice, at the least, of a general meeting of all the subscribers, to choose, by majority of votes, such other persons as are to be added to the number of the trustees, every five hundred pounds subscribed having one vote, and no one person whatsoever to have more than ten votes.

The subsequent articles provided for assignments of subscribed sums to the trustees; for their trust deed; for their books; for Paterson's per-centage of one per

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cent. on the profits as promoter; for rules; for revoking subscriptions; and for more capital; but the proposals seem not to have been accepted.

Paterson had 4,000*l.* stock in this fund, and his plain object was to facilitate the settlement of the orphans' claims on the city. So far as his influence was carried the plan succeeded; and the fund so proposed, could easily have stood many years as a public stock. It was another evidence of his sagacity as a man of business, and of the esteem in which he was held in London, that so much capital could be relied on in this way in addition to the funds already subscribed for the Bank of England, within the same short time; and that too when the Government Subscriptions and the Land-Bank Stock fell so deplorably short of what had been anticipated.

This method of raising capital by engagements to pay a moderate interest, realised what had been called for by theorists and men of business for many years. Paterson seems unquestionably to have been the individual who contrived the operation, and *by his credit* carried it out. The Orphan Fund Act of 5 and 6 William and Mary, c. 10, provides, that the Chamberlain and Common-Serjeant of the City should give the orphans or their assigns a note of their debt; and that they might, by writing under seal, transfer their right in such moneys, or any part thereof, to any person whatsoever; which being entered in a book by the Court of Aldermen, and the note being delivered up to the officer, who should give his note of the debt to the assignees, they shall be entitled to the benefit thereof; and such assignees might assign it again, and so *toties quoties.*

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The importance of the institution is seen by the large amount of the Orphans' Debt, 747,472*l.* to be provided for.

It is said positively in a lampoon afterwards published in Edinburgh against Paterson, that he was some time a director of this fund, with the unfounded imputation of his "meeting *some* disgrace in it;" and that lampoon seems to contain the original suggestion of his having therefore planned the Darien enterprise.

It is not without interest to remark, that the same fund was one of the elements of public utility in the city by the judicious zeal of another *Paterson*, a city functionary of the next century, and a member of the House of Commons, of sufficient weight to be chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. He planned and carried out the resources for building Blackfriars Bridge, and other improvements in London. He received from his fellow-citizens a sumptuous acknowledgment of his good services in a public vote of plate along with their thanks.

Neither upon quitting the Direction, nor in after years, when others bitterly attacked the Bank, did Mr. Paterson exhibit any signs of being more than the just critic of its errors. Nor can anything more groundless or absurd be thought of than that he set up his Scottish commercial company to gratify feelings of revenge at the unworthy treatment of himself by the English in affairs of this kind or any other. As in early life he was incapable by his nature of being a buccaneer, so in his mature years he would have indignantly rejected any hostility to the English. That he was sincerely attached to them is abundantly evident from his efforts in favour of the Union, and

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his ultimate long residence in London to his decease. He married two *English* wives. Of his many friends the most powerful were English. Some confusion prevails as to the founding of the first banking Company in Scotland, in 1695, by Holland, an Englishman, as if Paterson was concerned in it. So far otherwise was the fact, that he says, in a letter of the 9th of July of that year, in allusion to such bank, "I desire a copy of the Bank Act so *surreptitiously* gained. It may be a great prejudice, but is never like to be of any matter of good to us, nor to those who have it." (App. P 2.)

VI.

Probably in 1695 he thought the time was propitious for pursuing his favourite Darien enterprise. His English and Scottish, Irish and Colonial colleagues, *the interlopers*, the free-traders of those days, were numerous and wealthy. King William was favourably inclined to them; and they were sure to support the Central American design; whilst the success of the Bank of England placed the supply of capital in a fair train. To make Scotland the seat of that design was only following out views already admitted for the advance of Scottish commercial interests. An Act to encourage Scottish trade had passed in 1693, and the formation of the Scottish African and India Company, under the Scottish statute of 1695, was really consistent with established national policy deliberately sanctioned by the King, as it was the development of the absorbing object of Paterson's own zealous labours of old date,

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and had been proposed to the English ministers elsewhere. The continued support of the Company by William III. was relied upon with the more reason that a large share of its interest was from the first apportioned to English subscribers; and the King's subsequent opposition must be held to be one of the few grievous errors of his reign.

Hitherto Paterson's proceedings in this important matter were attended with a success correspondent to his energy and his prudence. The conception of his genius ten years before had been cherished with the calculated patience of the man of business; and now he was bringing the bold conception with a masterly hand to its legitimate issue. He was delegated by the Directors of the African Company from Scotland to London, in order to concert with his English friends the proper steps to their common success. His reports to his colleagues at home, published in the Darien Papers, are very remarkable. "The matter," he says to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, on the 4th of July, 1695, in reference to subscriptions under the Company's Act of the Scottish Parliament, "the matter is of itself of the highest consequence, and nothing but prudent management can bring it to bear; wherefore the principal designs thereof ought to be discovered by their execution."

Again on the 9th of July he writes:—"The gentlemen here think that we ought to keep private and close for some months, that no occasion may be given to the Parliament of England to take notice of it in the ensuing Session, which might be of ill consequence, espe-

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cially as a great many considerable persons are already alarmed at it."

He then strongly advises careful preparation, and no long publicity before the subscription should be opened, as experience taught the hazard of slow solicitations.

"The Bank of England," he continues, "had but six weeks' time for opening the books, and was finished in nine days. In all subscriptions here it is always limited to a short day. If a thing go not off with the first heat, the raising a fund seldom or never succeeds, the multitude being mainly led more by example than by reason."

Then, in the spirit of Columbus while contemplating the discovery of a new world, he insists that circumstances favour Scotland in this equally grand design of raising a people for the universal benefit of mankind. "There are remarkable occurrences," he says, "at this time, and our neighbours lie under many disadvantages. A considerable measure of the genius of trade and improvements seems to incline to Scotland, to give them a facility and inclination to gain some advantages for themselves and their posterity; all which seem to be harbingers of, and to portend, glorious success. Above all, it's needful for us to make no distinction of parties in this great and noble undertaking; but of whatever nation or religion a member, if one of us, he ought to be looked upon to be of the same interest and inclination. We must not act apart in anything, but in a firm and united body, and distinct from all interest whatever. So, hoping that Almighty God, who at this time seems to have fitted so many able instruments both of

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our own nation and others, and given us such opportunities as perhaps others have not, will perfect the work begun, and make some use of Scotland also *to visit those dark places of the earth whose habitations are full of cruelty*."

A few weeks later, on the 3rd of September, there follows a short passage of singular interest.

"Our business," he says, "hath taken more than we expected. . . . . Our politicians here seem inclined rather *to endeavour that England should follow our example as much as may be, in encouraging foreign trade, than to think of discouraging us,* who, if blessed with prudent management, have designed one of the least involved and freest foundations of commerce anywhere proposed."

Thus the national feeling of the English statesmen favoured the Scottish enterprise; a fact which the King himself afterwards, in 1700, set in a strong light in his conciliatory message to the Parliament of Scotland, when too late. "The pressing desires of *all* my ministers to support your undertakings," said his Majesty, "would have prevailed, but for invincible reasons—the apprehension of an European war to be carried on by Great Britain without a single ally!"

At this critical moment, King William seems to have been paralysed, and to have gradually sunk under the great difficulties opposed to him. He unquestionably swerved from the wise course that would probably have averted those difficulties. His subjects and confederates were growing lukewarm in his great cause of resistance to Louis XVI. The sinews of war—treasure—failed him

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in all ordinary quarters, and he neglected to resort to the well-approved methods advocated by the merchant Paterson. The inability of the English ministers to obtain money for the army, either through the resources of the Whig Bank of England or those of the Tory Land Bank, or even by solicitation from house to house in the city of London, contrasted with Paterson's rapid and complete success in securing large sums for even remote undertakings, ought to have suggested the wisdom of adopting at once and for ever his sagacious financial views.

In 1694, it was Paterson who effected the combinations under which in ten days the sum of 1,200,000*l.* was subscribed in the books of the Bank of England. "Your friend J. F." (John Furley), (says Mr. Locke on one of those ten days, writing to an Amsterdam merchant,) "has taken 300*l.* in the new Bank, which has already got a capital of 1,100,000*l.* I shall myself subscribe for 500*l.* at once, and it will be full to-night." So in 1695, when Paterson was sent with other directors of the Darien Company to London for capital, they speedily got 300,000*l.*; and afterwards, in Scotland, when the English had abandoned their enterprise, the sum of 400,000*l.* was rapidly subscribed by the Scotch alone, mainly under his influence.

On the contrary, in 1696, the Duke of Shrewsbury, secretary of state, tells the King that "the most eminent goldsmiths and some of the Bank gave the dismalest account of the state of credit in London." So that his Grace confessed it was "past his understanding how they should avoid infinite confusion. His

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dependence for the present was on fate rather than *reason*." Again he writes that all the efforts of the Land Bank could raise only 40,000*l*.! and that the credit of bills was lost, and all the gold locked up! The King replied: "You may easily suppose how painful it is to me to see we are likely to be reduced to such an extremity, if we cannot in some degree remedy the evils we are falling into by the loss of our credit. *When we plainly discover we have been in error, the sooner we acknowledge it the better.* I own I was strongly of opinion to reduce the value of the guinea to 22*s*.: I now see, too late, I was in the wrong.

"In the name of God, determine quickly to find some credit for the troops here, or we are ruined."

Again, a few days later, his Majesty writes:—

"I have received your letter of the 29th May (1696). I did not expect to hear no resolution was taken to obtain credit by some means or other, as in our present situation we must not consider if the conditions are reasonable, but accept them at any rate. Money or credit we must speedily have, or all will be lost. The greatest difficulty is ruin; and that we must speedily encounter, if we cannot speedily have credit to pay the troops here. There is no alternative but to find credit or perish. . . . . If we do not soon receive remittances, the army will be disbanded!" And he concludes at last:—

"I know not where I am, since I see no resources to prevent the army from mutiny or total desertion. If you do not devise expedients to send contributions or produce credit, all is lost, and I must go to the

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Indies!"—alluding to his early resolution to emigrate rather than submit to France.

Such is the tenor of the Shrewsbury correspondence as published by Archdeacon Coxe from the Buccleuch MSS.* and abundantly verified by the documents preserved in the State Paper Office.

Well, indeed, might Paterson, whose earnest advice had been undervalued by the Treasury for the few previous years of mortal struggle, declare to the King, as he did in 1700, that the fault lay at the door of his ministers.

Already, however, in 1696, besides the opposition of the English monopolists, who stirred up the House of Commons against the Scotch design, and besides that of the Dutch monopolists, actuated by the same bad spirit, formidable objections were preparing to be pressed upon the King from other quarters. In that year our minister at the Hague announced the King of Spain's intention to leave all his dominions to a French prince, "the very report of which," says the minister, "alarms the allies." Then the negotiations at Ryswick opened very serious views as to Spanish America, which were not followed up in that treaty, but the Partition treaties soon following, with the object of settling all difficulties on that head, were utter failures, although King William went enormous lengths in that way to secure himself and the peace of Europe.

His Majesty seems not to have estimated correctly the power of religious feeling at that time in Spain.

* The Shrewsbury Correspondence from 1690 to 1708. By Archdeacon Coxe. London. 4to. 1821: pp. 116—134.

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Its court did not more warmly resent the Partition treaties than its hierarchy dreaded the efforts of *heretics* like the Scotch, who might be helped, as that body knew, by the English,—to overturn their religion in America. By a strong representation of the danger to his holiness the Pope, the court obtained from Rome a large grant of the church revenues "throughout the Indies" for ever, as means to resist it. Then the Inquisition carried extraordinary zeal into the cause. By a decree issued in 1697, the holy office declared its desire to repair the misfortunes which had afflicted Spain *ever since her alliances with* HERETICS, *who alike false to their solemn engagements as in their faith, had promised to invade France and compel the French king to sue for peace;* nevertheless, instead of that being done, his fleets had ravaged Jamaica and threatened to drive the English from the Indies! Even Carthagena and the galleons were said to be in peril!

"Seeing, then, that a king like Lewis of France, without a single ally, and without a single possession in the Indies, could not but by a miracle resist so many enemies, it was plain that heaven protected him for having driven the heretics out of France. Therefore the holy office concluded by addressing its solemn injunction to the crown of Spain not to make any treaties, nor to hold any intercourse with them, but, on the contrary, deliver their agents to be dealt with by the holy Inquisition!" (App. P 3.)

This alarm of the Church of Spain was skilfully turned to account by Lewis, who himself also shared opinions so fatal to the peace of the world; and who,

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after amusing King William for several years, closed the scene with the acquisition of supremacy in Spain, and over her vast possessions beyond sea.

The real disposition of the English which Paterson sagaciously discovered, and the King did not sufficiently respect, is displayed in a valuable record; the whole subject being examined with the utmost care at the Board of Trade and Plantations, of which no less important a person than John Locke guided the deliberations.

The House of Commons had stayed the operations of the Scottish Company in London by *impeaching* Paterson and a large body of its leading members; and its foreign negotiations for support were watched by the English diplomatic agents with the utmost vigilance. On this occasion Paterson went to Hamburgh, where the consul exerted himself effectually, but with no little credulity, to defeat his efforts; and the information transmitted to the Secretary of State at home pointed at *Darien* as one of several places selected for the Scotch settlement in America. This information led to a longer inquiry at the Board of Trade into the title of Spain to that region, and into its character and circumstances. Two seamen of historic names, Dampier and Wafer, were examined by the board; with the result, that, in its judgment, the territory did not, by the law of nations, belong to Spain, and that being a good country inhabited by Indians likely to be friendly to us, the English Government ought to take possession of it at once, in order to exclude all other Europeans. The whole papers are inserted in the Appendix (P 4).

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The eloquent Scottish historian, Malcolm Laing, indeed, in his elaborate and candid account of the Darien enterprize, raises a singular objection to it. Admitting that the colony might have succeeded, and that to unite the commerce of the two Indies by its means was "the conception of no vulgar mind," he concludes, that its very success would have withdrawn men and money from Scotland, and left that country "stationary and uncultivated, without industry, or even the means of improvement." (App. Q.) The whole reasoning upon which Mr. Laing's conclusion is founded, assumes the *incurable* poverty of Scotland, whereas Paterson relied upon the native resources of the people which history taught him. The country had been progressive when free from impediments, and the wonderful experience of the last hundred years proves his wisdom. Scottish sailors have navigated the sea for ages. They took part in the discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One of the crew of the Victoria, Magellan's circumnavigating ship, was a Scotchman. The attention of Scotland to the sciences belonging to commerce is attested by the Logarithms of Napier. Nor is it trivial to observe that Selkirk, the prototype of the world-known Robinson Crusoe, was a Scot; or that Duncan and the Malcolms, from North of the Borders, were worthy companions of Nelson and Jarvis in modern times. It was an Earl of Selkirk who first directed Scottish emigration to British colonies; and every scene of British enterprise under the sun bears witness to Scottish energy in war and peace in our day, whilst in more distracted times

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the universality of Scottish enterprise in all shapes made them for centuries denizens in foreign lands in greater numbers in proportion to the extent of their own country than any other people on earth. The present prospects of wealth and improvement in Scotland are nowhere surpassed; and Paterson was one of those who the most steadily anticipated such brilliant results for his country, on principles which experience has confirmed.

It was doubtless from a consciousness of the weakness of the case that the impeachment against him and other agents of the African Company, begun in the House of Commons in 1695, was not persevered in. But, the English subscriptions to it being withdrawn, the national spirit of the Scotch was roused by the hostility their favourite and reasonable views encountered. They soon therefore raised the necessary capital to carry out those views, when a strange incident, hitherto unknown to all the chroniclers of the Darien enterprize, led to a series of errors fatal to the Company, independently of the opposition it encountered from jealous rivals, or the mistaken King. The evidence of this incident was lately found among the Darien papers preserved in Edinburgh; it occurred towards the close of 1697, until which time Paterson had been the Company's chief counsellor in all their proceedings. Not only had he planned the Darien Settlement, but he was himself a subscriber of 3,000*l.* to the stock, besides having in London mainly contributed to the subscription of 300,000*l.* more in a few days. From the outset he seems to have intended to

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go with the first fleet to Central America; and the success of the expedition clearly depended much upon its command being confided to him. One party strongly advocated the East Indies as the scene of operations, and attacked Paterson with some virulence for what was called an irrational prepossession in favour of the west. The general confidence in his judgment enabled him to induce the directors to adhere to this destination. But a singularly unexpected circumstance weakened his influence, deprived him of the anticipated command, and embittered the remainder of his days.

At that time Holland afforded the cheapest and best supplies of all maritime stores. The purchases therefore of such stores were to be made in Amsterdam, where Paterson was well known. A commission was accordingly given to him and two other persons to proceed thither for the purpose, the money, 25,000*l.*, being placed in his hands to secure the suitable remittance. The financial operation was made advantageously through a commercial agent long familiar with Paterson; but upon the arrival of the three commissioners the provision thus made for their purchases had disappeared. The faithless agent had absconded with all the money! By means of great activity of pursuit a large portion of the sum lost, was recovered; and prompt payment from his own resources in London much reduced the company's loss, leaving him in deplorable distress.

These facts are stated in the document referred to,—a report upon the whole delicate case by two directors of the company to whom it was referred upon

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the return of the commissioners. This report at once relieves Mr. Paterson of all suspicion of infidelity to his trust. Its severe reproof of his imprudent confidence in the Dutch agent is to be attributed to the wish of the cautious referees to strengthen, by such clear impartiality, their warm recommendation of a proposal made by Paterson for the repayment of the money still deficient. That proposal, and the conclusion of the referees, are striking illustrations of his excellent character. In order to replace the defalcation, he had already stripped himself of the residue of his fortune, although few would have readily admitted their liability for a loss incurred indeed by their immediate means, but without any want of ordinary mercantile caution. He now added that he was ready to withdraw from the company, and return to merchandise in London, with the hope of prospering, as he had done theretofore, and so be enabled to make good the balance, or he would go out to Darien with the expedition, in the service of the company, appropriating a large part of his salary for their benefit. The report concludes by the recommendation already alluded to, that the services of Paterson ought to be accepted not only because of his personal ability, but seeing that his great popularity in the West Indies would bring crowds of people from other plantations to any place he should settle in. This satisfactory report is as follows; and its importance will be held to be the greater, when the eminent qualities of the senior referee, Principal Dunlop, are taken into consideration (App. R):

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"A REPORT from Mr. WILLIAM DUNLOP, Principal of the College of Glasgow, and Mr. ROBERT BLACKWOOD, Merchant in Edinburgh, concerning Mr. PATERSON and the DEBT due by him to the COMPANY.

"In obedience to the Council-General's order, we have fully considered the whole matter to us referred, and, after serious and long reasoning thereupon, we cannot find the least ground to think that Mr. Paterson had any design to cheat or defraud the company, and that for these reasons following:—

"1st. That if he intended any such thing it had been as easy for him to have gone away and cheated the company of the whole 25,000*l.* sterling, which he was entrusted with, as of the balance now due.

"2nd. It is evident that when he went beyond sea he knew nothing of Mr. Smyth's having misapplied that money, as not doubting in the least but that Gleneagles would have got it all at London; and both Gleneagles and Colonel Erskin do testify how much he was surprised and afflicted when he heard of the disappointment, and how earnest and careful he was to get Smyth to make a discovery of his effects, to the end the company might be secured therein.

"3rd. Had Mr. Paterson been conscious to himself of any wilful design to have defrauded the company, he might easily have given the slip to Gleneagles and Coll. Erskin beyond sea, and if his intentions were not still honest and just to the company we cannot possibly suppose that he would even venture upon coming to

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Scotland to give us his assistance at so critical a juncture, when in all probability he might with security and advantage pursue other measures in England.

"4th. Mr. Paterson declares that his only design in having that money lodged in his hands was for the benefit of the company, and it would have proved so if Smyth had been honest: because, first, all the milled money in Scotland was before that time cried up to an over-value, and being daily in expectation of a great turn in the exchange and lowering of the money (as it soon happened), the company must needs have lost ten per cent. upon the 20,000*l.* sent to London if it had remained in the company's hands but a little time longer till the money was cried down; secondly, whereas the company got two or three per cent. by remitting the money at that time, they must have paid eight or ten per cent. more for remitting it afterwards, and Mr. Paterson judged that the quieter it could be done the less opportunity would be given to such as dealt in exchanges, so that, indeed, the design was rational had not other intervening accidents rendered it ineffectual; thirdly, so in the end the company might have a fund in a convenient place for answering the needful demands abroad, being then resolved to proceed immediately upon action, by which a whole year might be saved, and foreigners encouraged to join with us when they would see we were in earnest.

"However, we have been very pressing with him to know if he could propose any fund or method by which the balance due by him to the company might be duly satisfied; in answer to which he declared that by his

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engaging himself in the company's service, leaving his own affairs abruptly, and thereby neglecting also other opportunities by which he might have advanced his fortune in England, that he has lost more than the balance now due to the company, and he actually condescends upon 4,000*l.* sterling in the Orphans' Fund and 2,000*l.* sterling in the Waterworks at London, which any indifferent person there may be easily satisfied in. By that means he is made destitute of any fund for the company's present payment. Nor can he propose any method for their satisfaction but one of two: either to dismiss him out of the company's service, allowing him time to recover some fortune or employment, and then, as he shall become able, he will pay by degrees, or by the company's retaining him in their service and allowing him some reasonable consideration out of the company's first free profits for his pains, charges, and losses in promoting the same; out of which allowance to be given him by the company he doubts not in few years to discharge the balance above-mentioned, if Smyth should happen to fail therein; though, at the same time, he hopes that Smyth will be both able and forced to do it to his hand.

"Now, after full deliberation, we humbly offer it as our opinion that this last overture should be complied with, and that because—

"1st. Any other vigorous method cannot possibly recover the company's money, but may certainly do us innumerable prejudices, which to mention particularly we think not fit at present.

"2nd. Because we find it evident he had no design

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to cheat the company, as is supposed, but rather a design of the company's profit as aforesaid, in taking so great a trust upon him, though by an easy credulity and folly he was unluckily the instrument of conveying that trust upon Smyth, who misused the same, to the company's and the said Paterson's manifest prejudice.

"3rd. We are convinced that Mr. Paterson's going along with the company's intended expedition is, we will not say absolutely necessary, but may be very profitable and convenient, for these reasons: first, it is well known that for a considerable course of years he has applied himself to the knowledge of whatsoever doth principally relate to settlements; and certainly the advantages of his experience, reading, and converse must needs be very assisting to those whom the company will think fit to entrust with the management of their affairs out of Europe; secondly, Mr. Paterson having certainly a considerable reputation in several places of America, and wherever the company will settle, the account of his being there will doubtless be a means to invite many persons from the neighbouring plantations, who are possessed with an opinion of him.

"4th. The directors, and most part of the company, were convinced that he deserved a considerable gratification if this misfortune had not happened; and since we humbly conceive he is no further accessary to the said misfortune, than as being unluckily the instrument of handing the said trust to Smyth, we think the overture above mentioned ought still to be complied with.

"5th. Any consideration that he now expects is far short of what was first proposed for him at London,

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viz. 12,000*l.* sterling in hand out of the money paid in, and three per cent. out of the free profits for twenty-one years; and even the resolution of the court of directors of the 6th of October, 1696, may be also considered.

"6th. The closing with this overture, by allowing him some imaginary credit (as may be easily concerted), without any present advance by the company, will not only engage him wholly and constantly to the company's service, but also be a means to re-establish his reputation, and enable him the better to pay any debt due to the company, with interest; and that he should have some consideration for all his time spent, pains, trouble, and losses, is but just and reasonable.

"Now, as to the sum of 21,119*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* of the company's money charged upon Mr. Paterson, and by him entrusted to Messrs. Stewart and Campbell and Smyth, we find that Stewart and Campbell have accounted to the company for their part thereof, being 4,226*l.* 11*s.* and that Smyth has already accounted also to the company, by money and security, to the amount of 8,713*l.* as per particulars in the account formerly laid before this council-general; so that there remains still unaccounted for to the company the balance of 8,284*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* chargeable either on Smyth or Paterson, or both. Yet, we cannot find that Mr. Paterson has touched any part thereof, otherwise than that, by his means, it was unluckily handed to Smyth as aforesaid, though by Colonel Erskin and Gleneagles' persuasion he was prevailed upon to grant an obligation to the company for about one-half of the said balance, as being chargeable with it how-

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soever, which the tenor of the said obligation seems to demonstrate to us.

"But, as to the further charge of 4,272*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* delivered to Mr. Paterson, by bills and money, in October, 1696, he has already fully accounted to the company as per particulars specially mentioned in the account lately laid before this council-general, excepting only a balance of 678*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* of which balance we find he discharges himself, by an act of the court of directors, allowing him 20*s.* sterling per diem during the time of his negotiations abroad as one of the company's deputies, which, from the 19th day of October, 1696, to the 23rd day of June, 1697 (being the day on which Colonel Erskin and Gleneagles returned to Scotland), does amount to 253*l.* Item, we find there was a bill of 115*l.* sterling, drawn by one Allan, in Glasgow, returned protested, of which the company did afterwards receive the just value, so that the remaining balance being 310*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.* is (as Mr. Paterson says) far short of his necessary expenses in the company's services, both here and at London, since he first engaged therein in June, 1695, which we judge not improbable.

"And, upon the whole, we appeal to this council-general, whether all and every individual member thereof was not once of the belief that Mr. Paterson did merit very well at the company's hands, till the unhappy miscarriage of the money above mentioned came in play."

It is incredible that the directors should have been deaf to the deliberate and reasonable judgment of their two impartial colleagues in favour of Paterson's in-

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tegrity and devotedness to the company's interests. Their disregard of the prudent conclusion that he should be employed, was accompanied by the gross imprudence of placing the rule of the expedition in the hands of *seven* councillors with no head, and their choice fell upon seven incompetent men for those councillors. Accordingly dissensions among the numerous members of this absurd colonial government, and want of foresight to meet the ordinary difficulties and requirements of the enterprise, were more disastrous than the jealousy of the English and Dutch companies, and even than the hostility of the Spaniards.

So sudden and so melancholy a reverse in social position never perhaps occurred in any other case. Paterson nevertheless sailed under their orders as a voluntary, uncommissioned settler, the loss of the money in Holland being so studiously concealed as scarcely to be suspected by the hired tract-writers of the day, who would gladly have turned it into ridicule—a weapon they employed with little scruple (App. S).

The settlement of New Caledonia was at length founded in 1698 in Darien; and after mismanagement reduced it to miserable straits he interposed, and his sagacity and personal influence would probably have saved it; but the incapable men to whom the command had been given at home soon resolved, in spite of his remonstrances, to abandon their trust and leave the place. He was the last, most reluctantly and in sickness, to come away. His official report of all the

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proceedings, made to the Company's imprudent directors on his return to Edinburgh, has been published by the Bannatyne Club; displaying a series of errors on the part of the incapable *seven* councillors, which fully account for the disasters of the expedition. It is as follows in the *Darien Papers*, pages 178—198.

"REPORT by WILLIAM PATERSON to the DIRECTORS.

"Report of Matters relateing to the Collony of Caledonia, made to the Right Honble. The Court of Directors of the Indian and African Company of Scotland.*

Att Edinburgh, the nintenth day of December, 1699.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"On the 16th day of July, 1698, I arryved on board the company's ship the Unicorne, in order to my voyage in the afternoon. I went on board the Saint Andrew; and although I was not of the councell, yet the care and concerne I hade for the success, obliedged me to speake to Captain Pennicook for calling a councell before we set saille, in order to considder how they were provided for the voyage, and to represent to this court what might be defective: but I was answered—I must give him leave to think that he knew his business and the instructions he hade to follow, or to this purpose.

"Two or three dayes after we sailled, the councell was called on board the St. Andrew, where they found the provisions and necessarys for the voyage fall ex-

* From the original, corrected and signed by Paterson, in the Miscellaneous Collection.

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ceedingly short of what was given out or expected; whereupon the people were reduced to a much shorter allowance; and the next day the councell wrote letters signifieing their condition, designing to land those letters att Orknay; but the fogie hazy weather and currents not only prevented that, but endangered the ships, and occasioned the separation of the Unicorne and Indeavour pink from the rest.

"After our meeting att Madeira, the councell wrote their condition by way of Lisbon and Holland; but in as sparing and generall termes as possible, least these letters should be intercepted to the prejudice of our designes. These letters were dated the 29th day of August, 1698.

"When Captain Pinkerton and I were at the Island of St. Thomas about the beginning of October, we mett with one Captain Richard Moon of Jamaica, who commanded a sloop of about eighty tunns. He was bound from New York to Curasao with provisions, but by the way touched att Saint Thomas, where he mett with us. *The man I hade known in Jamaica many years before;* him we perswaded to follow us to the rest of our ships, then riddeing at Crab-Island. When he came he found our goods so deare and ill sorted for his purpose, that, upon the conditions we proposed, he would not parte with any of his provisions, upon which I represented to the councell that it might be of ill consequence for us not only to miss such a quantity of good and new provisions, but the report he might give of our goods being overrated would unavoidably be an ill preparative for others, whereas the agreement with him, though at a

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deare rate, would incourrage him and many more to come to us with the greater speed and earnestness; also that I hade heard the goods were considerably over-rated. But, however it was, two or three hundred pounds loss ought not to be putt in ballance with the risque of the designe, which, if it miscarried, I was apprehensive the company would, however, gett but a lame account of their cargoe, wherefore it was better to risk a parte of it upon the prospect of something, then inevitably to loss it without any prospect att all. To all this I was answered, that they were not obliedged to take notice of any particular man's assertions as to the over-valueing or *ill* buying the goods, but rather to believe the prime cost was as in the company's invoyce, and that they would not be so imposed upon by Capt. Moon. Thus Mr. Moon parted from us. But before he went I took an opportunity to tell him, that by reasone of the stowage in those crowded ships, he could not now have a sight of the greatest parte of our cargoe; but if he and his freinds would send us a sloop with provisions from Jamaica, and also come himself as soon as he could, I did not doubt but he would dispose of them to his sufficient satisfaction, which he promised to doe, and hade some discourse thereof to the rest of the councellors before we parted.

"Dureing the voyage, our marine chancellors did not only take all upon them, but lykewayes browbeat and discouraged every body els, yet we hade patience, hopeing things would mend when we came ashore; but we found ourselves mistaken; for though our masters at sea hade sufficiently taught us that we fresh-water men

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knew nothing of their salt-water business,—yet when at land they were so farr from leting us turne the chase, that they took upon them to know everything better than we.

"I must confess it troubled me exceedingly to see our affairs thus turmoyled and disordered by tempers and dispositions as boisterous and turbulent as the elements they are used to struggle with, which are att least as mischievous masters as ever they can be usefull servants. To this disease I proposed as a present ease and a parte of a remedy, that a president of the councell should be chosen for a month, and that the first should be a land councellor, and that every land councellor might take his toure before any of those of the sea should come in place. This, I reckoned, would be four moneths; and *in this tyme I was in hopes that we might be able to make some lawes, orders, and rules of government, and by people's management in the tyme,* to be better able to judge who might be most fitt to proceed for a longer tyme, not exceeding a year. This my thoughts I imparted to our land councellors; but they, like wise men, hade begune to make their court, and agreed beforehand with those of the sea that *the precedency should laste but a week; and though I urged that it would be to make a meer May game of the government, and that it would reduce all things to uncertainty and contradictions, yet this determination of the rest was unalterable.* Upon which Mr. Montgomrey was chosen the first president, after which we began to proceed to business.

"The first thing fallen upon was a place of landing;

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but the sea councellors were for a meer morass, neither fitt to be fortified nor planted, nor indeed for the men to ly upon. But this was carried by main force and a great struggle, although I know no reason they hade for it, unless it might be to save one of their boats the trouble, once in two or three dayes, to bestow three or four hours to supply the landmen with water. We were upon clearing and making hutts upon this improper place neare two moneths, in which tyme experience—the schoollmaster of foolls—convinced our masters that the point now called Fort Saint Andrew was more proper for us; upon which they appointed Captain Thomas Drummond to oversee the work, who, according to the toolls he had to work with, did beyond what could be reasonably expected from him; for our men, though for the most parte in health, were generally weake for want of sufficient allowance of provisions and liquors, and this inconveniency upon them was the harder by reasone of the irregular serving of their scrimp allowances, for our marine masters continually pretended other urgent business, and soe could hardly spare their boats to bring the land provisions and conveniencies ashore, and many of the most needfull things that I know were only designed for the shore, were detained on board under pretence they belonged to the ships.

"When we arryved first, we were, as it was, in a prisone for want of sloops, briganteens, or other good, stiff, windwardly vessells; for the snow or the pink were utterly unfitt for that purpose, otherwayes the sending home, as also to all our freinds in the planta-

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tions, ought to have been the first things done. The inconveniency of this was foreseen; but it seems could not be prevented. About the twentieth of December a sloop arryved from Jamaica, commanded by Mr. Edward Sands, fraughted by Captain Moon and Mr. Peter Wilmot of Port Royall, and a parte belonged to one Master Robert Allieson, who came from aboard of Moon's sloop along with us from St. Thomas Island. This sloop was consigned to Mr. Allison, and in his absence to me. Upon report of her cargoe, the councell ordered Captain Jolly and Captain Pinkerton to agree with Allison, which agreement was, that they should have our goods as they cost in Scotland, and we were, in lieu therof, to have the sloop's cargoe of provisions as it cost in Jamaica, and, as I remember, ten per cent. advance; wherupon the sloop's provisions were putt aboard one of our ships, and the goods in exchange were to be delyvered by us to Captain Moon, who was expected in a moneth after.

"Before this tyme Major Cunningham, one of our number, was become so uneasie, and possessed (as we thought) by so unaccountable conceits and notions, that he gave us noe small trouble, and att last would needs forsake not only his post but also the Collony. This very justly offended the rest of the councellors, considering their raw and unsettled circumstances; and some thoughts there were of detaining him by force. But after weighing his temper, they consented to his going; but thought it were prudent to parte with him in friendship then otherwayes, least any that might espouse his humour in Scotland, should prove a means

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of retarding or frustrating our needfull supplyes. Upon these considerations they gave him a generall letter of recommendation, but no instructions in writing; and Mr. Hamiltoun hade also verbal orders to intimat the matter, but soe cautiously as not thairby to prejudice the Collony's interest.

"In order to cure as much as possible the convulsions we laboured under from the weight of our marine governours, Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Mackay, and *I agreed to try, before the Major went away, if we could perswade them to the admission of two or three new councellors.* But instead of complying with soe reasonable a proposeall, the three gentlemen fell out into the greatest passion and disorder possible, and Mr. Montgomery falling in with them, nothing could be done in it at that tyme.

"Major Cunningham his going home proceeding not from the councell, but from himself, they proposed to send home a person who might by word of mouth represent to the company things that could not be so well committed to writting. The Captains Pennicook, Pinkertoun, and Jolly proposed Mr. Hamilton; Mr. Cunningham and I were for Mr. Samuell Veatch; Mr. Montgomery was for one Mr. Alexander Baird; and Mr. Mackay was non liquid. My reasons against Mr. Hamilton going away were, that he was appointed by the company their accomptant-generall, and indeed was the only person we had left fitt for that and the management of the cargoe, which at this tyme was in such disorder and confusion that I saw noe way of bringing it into method but that Mr. Hamilton, and

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such others as were capable to assist him, should goe immediately about it; and thought Captain Veatch, or some other gentleman who could be better spared by the collony, might be capable enough for that errand; whereas Mr. Hamilton, his being taken from his station without supplying his place, would unavoidably reduce things to that disorder and confusion in which I ame afrayd the company will find them when they come to enquire into the management of their cargoe.

"After Mr. Hamilton was dispatched in Sands his sloop, by way of Jamaica, a designe was sett on foot to send Captain Pinkerton and Captain Malloch, in the Dolphine Snow, to Curasao, Saint Thomas, and other islands to the windward. The designe was to settle a correspondence, and to buy a sloop or two, together with rum, sugar, and other things we wanted from them. But I made objections against this voyage—First, because in our passage from Scotland we found the Snow no windwardly vessell, and the north and strong north-easterly winds were not yet over, and I questioned if any thing abated, and therefore believed (as it happened) that she would never be able to get to the windward; and, in the second place, either Pinkerton or Malloch could doe any thing that was to be done as well as both, whom we could not well spare by reason of our scarcity of good sea officers; and, in the last place, I questioned if our present circumstances would allow of thus remote adventuring of so considderable a parte of our cargoe; but that it should rather ly ready by us as a bate to such as should come with present supplyes, which we very much wanted at this time, and, for any-

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thing I saw, were lyke to want much more. But to all this I was answered in the usuall forme, that I did not understand it.

" After Captain Pinkerton was gone Capt. Moon arryved, and on boord him his owner, Mr. Peter Wilmot, who called for the return of the provisions we hade by Sands; when we came to offer him goods by our invoyce, he said he could buy them as cheap, if not cheaper, in Jamaica, complaining that the invoyce was not a true invoyce, but the goods were over-valued above fourty p. cent. However, after some clamours, the councell agreed with him for thirty pound p. cent. abatement upon the invoyce; yet he would not let us have any more of his provisions att that rate, but parted with us, complaining that he should be a losser. It vext me not only to see us parte with such a parcell of provisions, but also for the effect it might have to discourage others, as it afterwards happened.

" As the native Indians, att our first coming, hade made us severall advantageous offers to undertake against the Spaniards, soe now, in this moneth of February, they continued to allarm us with the preparations of the Spaniards, and to press us from severall parts to ane undertaking against them. Among these were Corbet of the Samblas, Diego of the Gulph, and Pausigo of Carreto, with others. But we still answered them, that our King was att peace with the Spainiards, and soe we could not make warr, unless they begune with us; but whenever they did we would repell force by force, and assemble all the Indians and others that were willing to assist us against them.

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They exprest a wonderfull hatred and horrour for the Spaniards, and seemed not to understand how we could be at peace with them, except we were as bad as they. It is certain this was the true season of the year for undertakings of that kind, and our people were then in health, and indifferent strong, which they happened not to be afterwards, when the Spainiards had given us sufficient provocation, and when the season was not soe proper. But afterward, upon information that a great party of Spainiards were come overland, and from the south seas, to invade us, and were then at an Indian house two or three leagues from the other syde of the harbour, we sent Mr. Montgomery with a party of men to know the truth; but, instead of a body of Spainiards, found only a few men who were sent thither to get intelligence, who, when our men came upon them, took their opportunity to fire att them from the thickets where they were placed, and then rune away, having killed two or three, and wounded some others. Our men returned the salute without any execution that we know of. This party consisted of twenty-five men, as we heard afterwards. This party had been detached from a body of fifteen hundred men, then at Tabugantee, and from thence designed to invade us by land; but, by reason of opposition from the Indians, and other obstructions they met with, they afterward disperst, and came to nothing.

" Some dayes after Captain Moon was gone, returned Captain Sands from Jamaica, as also arryved one Captain Ephraims Pilkington, both loaden with provisions, all which the councell bought, and sent Pilkington with

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his sloop or shallope to trade upon the Spanish coast, while Captain Sands went a turtling for the collony. Some dayes after this Captain Pennicook and Mr. Mackay hade a great falling out. I endeavoured not only to compose their difference, but if possible to bring some good out of it. Wherefore I represented to them separately how sad and scandalous our condition was; that if any two of us hade a difference, the remainder hade not authority eneugh to reduce them to reason: therefore advised and perswaded them both to consent to the admission of two or three new councellors. This they severally consented to, agreeing that I should move it, and that they should be seconds, and, if Messrs. Montgomery and Jolly did oppose it, to carry it by vote. Accordingly, I moved it, and they did second it, but so very coldly, that, though Mr. Jolly was in the chair, and so three against one, yet I could not so much as gett my motion entered, much less a liberty to protest that the majority was for it, and soe it was past of course. This motion raised me much envy and trouble, which continued a long time after.

"Before Major Cunningham went away, there was something done he would have protested against. I doe not remember the thing, only that I was not of his opinnion as to the matter, but was for allowing him a liberty to protest, as all other councellors ought to have hade. For this I urged the custom of most civill societies in the world, and the express meaning of the company, when they in their instructions say that one councellor shall not be lyable to the defaults and miscarriages of the others, but every one for his own

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default; but, say or doe what I would, there could non of them be perswaded to it, nor was protests or entries of motions or dissents att all allowed by the old councellors, but, indeed, that doctrine was as much exploded by the new councell as ever that of passive obedience has been upon another occasion.

"About the tenth or twelfth of February, within a day or two of each others, arryved two sloops from Jamaica, the one of which was commanded by ——— Mitchell, and the other by Mr. William Robbins. That of Robbins was consigned to me in his absence, and Mitchell was recommended. Robbins offered his provisions as soon as ever he came in, and Mitchell would also have sold his. Their main designe was about fishing the French wrack att the entrance of our harbour, of which the councell acquainted this court, and the provisions were only brought in by the bye. Our councellors would not be perswaded in tyme to take these provisions; and afterwards those purse-proud fellows, having tyme to understand our wants by the murmures of the people and other circumstances, took humers in their heads, and would not part with their provisions upon any account, unless we could have given them money.

"Att this tyme, in hopes the tyme of the strong breese was over, or at least much abated, we sent out the Indeavour pink, under the command of Captain John Anderson, and a stock of some hundred pounds value was on boord of her, whereof Mr. Robert Allison was supercargo. She was to touch att Jamaica, and goe from thence to New York, and returne to us with provisions; but, after she hade beaten about a moneth,

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and not gott fourty leagues to the windward, she was forced to returne to us again, after having become very leaky by the stress she had mett with att sea.

"About the begining of March, Captain Pilkington returned from the coast of Carthagena, having hade litle or no trade by reason of the badness and unsuteableness of the cargoe, and brought us the unhappy newes of the loss of our snow, and the imprisonment of Captain Pinkerton and his crew att Carthagena; of all which we advised the company by ane occasion of the sixth or seventh of March. Mr. Mackay was then sick of an intermitting fever, and his lyfe hardly expected; and, by reason of some heats that arose between Mr. Pennicook and Mr. Montgomery, all things seemed to be att a stand, for Mr. Jolly and I hade not authority to make peace between them when att variance, nor to cause them to keep it when made. I could think of nothing to cure this distemper of ours, but either an addition of councellors or a Parliement. About an addition of councellors we could not agree, and we should loss tyme in staying for a Parliament; wherefore it was resolved to call a Parliament as soon as possible, and, in the meantime, to dispatch the Captains Pilkingtoun and Sands to Carthagena, with a messenger and letter, to demand our prisoners and effects, and to declare that, if they refused, we would immediately grant reprizalls: and, accordingly, commissions were given to Pilkington and Sands, to be put in execution in caice of refuseall made to Mr. Alexander Mackgier our messenger; but Pennicook agreed not to signe these dispatches.

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"About this tyme Captain Pennicook begane to be very uneasie, and to publish that there was not a moneth's provisions in the collony, no not neare eneugh to carry us off the coast, and this he publisht industriously upon all occasions; but, in order to putt a stope to these clamours, att the first and second meetting of the Parliament, some of the members were appointed to take a narrow scrutiny of the provisions on boord the severall ships and ashore. This scrutiny lasted severall weeks, and at last could never be very exactly taken, of which Pennicook himself (with whom concealed provisions were found) was non of the least occasions.

"By this tyme, being about the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth of March, Mr. Mackay was pretty well recovered, and the Captains Pilkington and Sands returned from Carthagena with our messenger, Mr. Alexander Macgie, who brought the refuseall of our prisoners and effects, and a letter from the Governour of Carthagena to that effect. They met with and brought in their company a New England brigantein, which was bound to us with provisions, but hade mist our porte. One Philips commanded her. Two or three dayes afterwards Pilkington and Sands arryved before the harbour, Captain Moon, his sloop the Neptune, and another Jamaica sloop, commanded by one Mathias Maltman of Jamaica. Mr. Wilmot sent a canoa with a letter to me about some goods he had left to be disposed of. Whether they hade any other business in, I know not; but, as I was about to answer his letter, Pennicook, being President, arrested the canoa, with all

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the men that were in her, being twelve or fourteen. The pretence was that Moon's sloop hade carried away a boy called Skelton, and all the men stopt. Nay, Moon's sloop and all his effects was not able to make satisfaction for this boy of Pennicook's. I did what I could to gett a boat or canoa to send out, that the boy might be sent in, and the canoa released, but an embargoe was laid upon every thing; so the sloops were forced to ly off and on all night for their canoa and men; and when I saw I could not prevaill for a boat, I endeavoured to gett the men out of the guardhouse. The next morning early Captain Pilkington went in his canoa aboord of Moon, and told him what was the matter. By him I sent a letter to Wilmot to come ashore and justifie himself. The boy Skelton was brought, and Mr. Wilmot also appeared; but instead of accuseing Mr. Wilmot of anything regularly, as I hade reasone to expect, it all ended in a little hector and Billingsgate. Mr. Wilmot stayed till the afternoon; and before he went away I came to Mr. Mackay's hutt, and Mr. Wilmot came also to take his leave. The rest of the councellors were then together; and upon my coming they calls me in, and Mr. Mackay presents me a paper to signe, which contained a warrant to Captain Robert Drummond to take boats and goe and bring in Captain Mathias his sloop. When I asked what reasones they hade for it, Mr. Mackay answered that they were informed that this sloop was a Spanish sloop, and was fraughted by three Spanish merchants, now on boord her, and bound for Portubell, with I know not what for a treasure of gold and silver barrs; and added, I war-

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rant you will not medle, because your friend Mr. Wilmot is concerned. This usage did not please me; but, however, I told them if she was a Spanish sloop I was as ready as they; but if belonging to any other nation I would not be concerned. But, however, I signed the warrant to bring in the sloop. When she was brought, instead of a Spanish we found her a Jamaica sloop, with two Spanish passengers, and, as I heard, about 80 or 100 pounds value in peeces of eight, Spanish pistolls, and gold dust. When I found this I must needs say I was very angry, and endeavoured to get the sloop and men discharged next day, as being an English bottom. To this purpose I layd the law before Pennicook, and afterwards to Mr. Mackay, who by this tyme had brought the men and money out of the sloop. Upon this, I said I would write home about this matter, and then left them. Upon this occasion, God knowes, my concerne was not upon my own account, or any humor of my own, but the true love of justice and good of the collony; in which concerne of spirit I heartily wisht that they might not have cause to repent of their inhuman usage of those before any other friendly strangers came to visit them, or to this effect. When I was gone there was a councell called, consisting of Pennicook, Mackay, Montgomery, and Jolly, where, as the secretary told me afterward, they confirmed the taking of the two Spaniards and the money from on boord the Jamaica sloop. I suppose the minutes of the 29th or 30th of March will show it.

"The councell not only bought what provisions Captain Philips hade on boord, but also hyred his bri-

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ganteen express for Scotland; and, besides ane address to his Majestie, to lay before him our ill usage by the Spainiards, and the needfull dispatches to the Company, to carry some intelligent and well-instructed person, to make a more lyvely representation of our circumstances to the company; but, although Mr. Mackay was pretty well recovered, yet they could not att all agree upon the person to be sent. This and the lyke delayes and interruptions occasioned another motion for ane addition to the councell, in order to carry things more smoothly for the future; but, upon this motion, Mr. Montgomery opposed it, and then withdrew. Mr. Jolly also opposed it, but continued with us till Mr. Colline Campbell was named and voted, and then he lykewayes withdrew; and although we sent our secretary severall tymes, entreating them in a freindly and respectfull manner to give their attendance and assistance in councell, yet they refused, and altogether forsook us; and not only so, but some small tyme after left the collony.

"After the admission of Mr. Colline Campbell, Mr. Samuell Veatch, Mr. Charles Forbes, and Mr. Thomas Drummond, we proceeded to transmit the address to his Majestie, and the other needfull dispatches to the company; and Mr. Daniell Mackay was pitcht upon to be the person should carry them, who was parted from us the tenth or eleventh of Aprill last.

"Upon the returne from the Governour of Carthagena, we begane to think of undertaking something considerable against the Spainiards; but the rainy season then approaching, together with the sickness of some, and the generall weakness and rawness of our men, made it

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impracticable at this tyme by land, wherefore the ships were ordered to be in readieness; and in the mean tyme Pilkington and Sands were ordered to cruise upon the coast of Portubello, to take what they could by way of reprizall; as also what prisoners they light upon, for intelligence, guids, and pillots. Within twelve or fourteen dayes, Pilkington and Sands returned without any prize but one, that of a sloop they found riddeing att anchor att the Samblas, without any body in her; nor did any body appeare, although there were many gunns fired, and allmost two dayes spent, expecting some of her crew, or other intelligence who she belonged unto. Att last they brought her away, as thinking her to belong to some pirrats we heard were upon the coast, who might have been gone out upon some land expedition in their canoas.

"Pilkington and Sands also acquainted us of their receipt of letters from Jamaica by a sloop they mett with at sea, by which they were very much threatned for engadging with us, and upon this desired to be payed what we owed them, in order to returne home. We gave them such goods as we hade, and as much to their satisfaction as possible; but, after all, there remained a ballance of more than a hundred pounds sterling to Captain Pilkington, and above twenty pounds to Captain Sands. They parted with us the twenty day of Apryle; and Captain Pilkington promised, as soon as he arryved, to send us a sloop with provisions, and, as soon as he could, would follow after with his family and effects. In the mean tyme, there was a plott to rune away with the shipe the Saint Andrew, discovered,

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and that severall persons were suspected to have a hand therin. I hade then some fitts of ane intermitting feaver; but, however, I put force upon myself as much as possible to be present in the councells, least some rash act should be committed, or an innocent man should suffer. After all, it was found to be the melancholly discourses of three or four fellowes, who, among others, were miserably harrassed by Pennicook's unequal government on boord.

"Our men did not only continue dayly to grow more weakly and sickly, but more, without hopes of recovery; because, about the latter end of the moneth of Aprile, we found severall species of the litle provisions we hade left in a mainer utterly spoylled and rotten; but under these, our very unsupportable difficultyes, it was no small ease and satisfaction to the collony to find their sea-commanders reduced to reasone, and their councellors become so unanimous, patient, and prudent, by whom the doctrines of non-protesting and non-admission were exploded with disdain, and any former misunderstandings, irregularityes, or disrespectfull carriage to one another in the old councell, were now become as so many lessons of warning to the new, by which there was much contentment, and few or no grumblings among the people, as every one expecting with patience the arryveall of good newes, and the needfull recruits from the mother country, to make way for happy dayes and glorious success to come, which the good and hopefull condition of their government seemed to be noe small pledge of.

"Towards the beginning of May, there arryved a

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French sloop from Petit Guavas, with a letter from the Governour Du Cass about the before mentioned French wreak. One Captain Tristian commanded this sloop, and one Du Cass was as supercargoe aboord, of goods for the Spainish coast. They made some stay about the wreake; and, before we received the unhappy newes of the proclamations, they sailled for Portubello. This Captain Tristian hade, some years agoe, by shipwrake upon this coast, been forced to live a great while among the Indians, and to goe naked as they. He spoke the language, and admired this countrey for healthfullness, fruitfullness, and riches, above all other in the Indies, and said he would come and reside among us, and doubted not but above five hundred of the French from Spaniola would soon be with us. He told us this countrey was reckoned by those who had tryed the difference much more healthfull than Spaniola, or any of the American islands, so that severall French who knew it begune to use the coming from Spaniola in trading or fishing sloops to recover their healths; and of this he had experience severall tymes, and now even at present, though it was the sickly season for new comers; that there is such a thing as a more sickly tyme of the year then other in all countreys; and the season here was from Aprile or May to September, and then all things that hade any means to doe it would recover; that he would take the first opportunity to write us the newes, and the true state of the Spainiards from Portubello.

" Upon the third day of May we dispatched the sloop brought in by Pilkington and Sands to Jamaica with

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money and other effects, in order to purchase provisions and necessaryes for the collony; of her designe we hade given a hint to Captain Pilkington before he went away, the better to be in readieness to fraught her when she should arryve. Mr. Hendry Patton hade the command of this sloop, and Mr. Alexander Burnet was to manage any negotiation ashore. Then we begane to expect these two sloops, viz. that of Pilkingtoun's, and this from Jamaica; also, that other supplyes would be droping in till a reinforcement should come from our countrey; when, instead theirof, upon the eighteenth day of May, a periagua of ours returned from the coast of Carthagena, which hade mett with a Jamaica sloop, by whom she hade the surprizing newes, that proclamations were publisht against us in Jamaica, wherein it was declared, that, by our settlement at Darien, we had broken the peace entered into with his Majesties allyes, and therefore prohibited all his Majesties subjects from supplying or holding any sort of correspondence with us, upon the severest penalties; and it seems the Governour of Jamaica had been soe hasty and precipitant in this matter, that these proclamations were published upon the Sabbath day (the lyke whereof had not been formerly knowen). But it was to prevent the going out of two sloops bound out next morning, and fraughted with provisions for Caledonia. This sloop also reported, it was rumoured at Jamaica, that the Company hade asked some thing or other, they knew not what; but only, that it was unanimously rejected by the Parliament of Scotland. This I could not believe, yet the report therof, at this juncture, did us a

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great deal of harme, and added to the disorder people were in about the proclamations; and it seemed impossible to stay them for above a week at most. Although, considering our low and distrest condition for want of supplyes, the prohibiting the King's English subjects from trading, or so much as corresponding with us, was very discourageing, yet the declaring we hade broken the peace, and, by consequence, proclaiming us pirrats, before we hade been once heard or summoned to answer, so very contrary to the uswall proceeding even in caice of real pirracy, was most of all surprizeing, and became the generall occasion of people's concluding that the long silence of our countrey proceeded from no other cause but that they were brow-beaten out of it, and durst not so much as send word to us to shift for ourselves. Upon these and the lyke apprehensions every one more than others begane to be in haste to be gone. When I saw there was no talking against our leaving the place, I perswaded them what I could, that first rumours of things of this nature was alwayes most terriefieing, and that happily our native countrey knew nothing of all this; and if they did not, but remained firme to the designe, there was non of us but would afterward be ashamed of our precipitant forwardness in going away upon this occasion; therefore I desired them not to designe, or so much as talk of going away; but, only since our landmen were so ill, that they were no more in condition to defend the fort, that they might embark some or all of the best things on boord the severall ships, as places of greater security, and if we must leave the harbour, nay, the coast, that we should

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think of it only by precaution, and even returne when we should be at sea, if we mett with any newes or supplyes from Scotland, which I did not doubt of our meeting with, if we did not make too much haste. This they seemed to agree to, but not by any meanes to loss tyme in going out; but, although they had agreed the contrary, yet it was immediately among the people and strangers with us that we hade resolved to desert the place. From that tyme, all I could pretend to, was only to contryve letts and stumbling-blocks to the proceedings. Another thing I thought upon was, if our sloop arryved from Jamaica, to stay with twenty-fyve or thirty men upon the coast and live upon turtling and fishing for some tyme, till we should see if any recruits or newes came from Scotland. This I imparted to Captain Thomas Drummond, who seemed most concerned att our leaving the place. He seemed very well pleased with the proposeall, if it could be reduced to practice, with only this difference, that I should goe for Scotland, in order to represent some things of moment to the company, and he stay in my place upon the coast; but our sloop not coming from Jamaica before our going away, as also the allmost universall falling down of our men, and wanting means to recover them, rendered this designe of staying upon the coast impracticable.

"About ten days before we went away, arryved another French sloop, who said she came last from Carthagena, and told us the new Governour, so long expected, was arryved from Spain about three weeks before, and hade made the old Governour and most of

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the officers prisoners for yielding up that town to Pointis. They also pretended that there was four French men of war upon the coast, and that the Spainiards were making great and speedy preparations against us. They hade no sort of goods on board, and were by us suspected for spyes; and, indeed, one of the two gentlemen that were in her seemed not unfitt for such a purpose. What their names were, my sickness gave not leave for me to know, but we left them in the harbour when we came away; before which, we received a letter from Captain Tristian, at Portobello, wherein he gave us the whole state of the Spanish preparations, with his conjectures that they could not be ready against us in less than four moneths; and concluded with his hearty wishes that the Scots fleet might be with us before that tyme came.

"About the fifth of June I was taken very ill of a feaver; but trouble of mynd, as I found afterwards, was non of the least causes theirof. By the 9th or 10th of June, all the councellours, and most of the officers, with their baggage, were on boord the severall ships, and I left allone on shore in a weake condition. Non visited me except Captain Thomas Drummond, who, with me, still lamented our thoughts of leaving the place, and praying God that we might but heare from our countrey before we left the coast; but others were in so great haste, that all the gunns in the fort, att least those belonging to the Saint Andrew, had been left behind but for the care and vigilance of Captain Thomas Drummond.

"In my sickness, besides the generall concerne of my

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spirits, I was much troubled about a report spread abroad of Captain Pennicook, as designeing to rune away with the ship, on pretence that we were proclaimed pirrots, and should be all hanged when we came home, or att least the Company would never pay the seamen their wages. In my small intervales of ease, I would have fain hade a councell, and Pennicook come ashore, to enquire and to take order about this report, and, if any truth were in it, to have secured him on boord another ship. But I could not gett them to me by reason of illness, att least pretended illness in some, and I was not able to goe to them.

"*June* 16*th*.—As I remember, I was brought on board the Unicorne in a great hurry, they pretending they would saill next morning, and seemed to be in so great haste that I apprehended they would hardly stay for one another, as afterwards it happened; my things were that night some of them putt on boord, some of them left behind and lost, and allmost all of them damnified and wet, which afterwards rotted most of them. Among the rest were lost severall brass kettles of my own, and sixteen iron potts belonging to Mr. Wilmot of Jamaica. There also remained due to me from the collony about seventy-two pound sterling, for which they hade sugar, tobacco, rossin, and other things for the use of the ships and men ashore, for which I was promised money or effects immediately. But my sickness prevented my getting the ballance of that accompt then, and it remains yet due to me; but the worst is, it belonged allmost all to other people.

"I think it was upon the eighteenth of June that the

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Caledonia gott under sail, and the Unicorne followed; both warpt out beyond the Black Rock, but had like to have been lost in the night by a squall of wind or a tornadoe; and, for want of hands, the Unicorne lost one of her anchors and long boat. The Saint Andrew sett saill next day, and was as foreward as any of them; but the Unicorne lost the wind by indeavouring to recover her long boat, and was forced to come to an anchor under Golden Island, where she rode in no small danger. But it pleased God there were no squalls of wind. That night the Caledonia and pink were quite out of sight; but the Saint Andrew came to an anchor about two leagues, as I guess, towards the north-west of us. Next day, being the twentieth, we saw non of the ships, and for want of hands were forced to cutt to gett cleare of that unhappy place where we rode, and so lost another of our anchors.

"Upon the eighteenth, as we were warping out, Captain Thomas Drummond came on board and acquainted us that Captain Veatch and he hade mett twice on board the Saint Andrew with Pennicook and Campbell, and that he was now come from the last meetting, wherin they had resolved upon leaving the place, and that they had agreed to touch at New England to gett provisions. Captain Drummond also offered me two papers to signe. I was very ill and not willing to medle; but he pressed it, saying there could be no quorum without me, because four councellors must signe the instructions to the two aboord of each ship. Upon this I signed them. They contained, as I remember, the one an order to the severall Captains to keep company with one another,

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and to goe for Boston or Salem in New England, and the other was an order to the two councellors on boord of each ship, or the survivor of them in caice of separation, to dispose of such of the cargoe as they could, and after the supplying of the respective ships with provisions to carry what remained to Scotland for the Company's use. He said he would see me next day, but I saw him noe more till we mett at New York.

"That day we parted from Golden Island we mett with the sloop commanded by Patton from Jamaica. She could gett nothing there because of the proclamations, of which she had procured a coppy, as not knowing wee hade received it before. Next night we sprung our maine topmast; yet gott itt mended next day. But a night or two after we lost all our masts, except the main and mizen masts, by a squall of wind and want of hands to the saills. This was not all; but the leakes of our ship, that were great before, increased to that degree that we were hardly able to keep her above water. Next day we saw the Saint Andrew about two leagues distant. She could see our distrest condition, but came not neare us. It was calme all day, and hade she sent her boat we hade beene able to recover most of our saills, riggings, and other usefull things, which for want of this were utterly lost. In the afternoon we fired gunns for her, upon which she came nearer, but lay by at half a league's distance. Our captain, Mr. Anderson, went on boord Pennicook and besought his help. But he utterly refused; only at the intreaty of some of the gentlemen on boord he was prevailled upon to give an order for the sloop to attend our ship

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till she saw what should become of us. Next day the wind served, whereupon the Saint Andrew sett saill, leaving us in this miserable condition. The sloop continued by us all next night; but, notwithstanding her orders in writing, and Patton his repeated oaths to Captain Anderson, that he would not leave us, they sailled away from us next day at fair daylight, after Abraham Loudown hade secretly conveyed himself and his baggage into the sloop's canoe, and soe on boord her. Att this tyme we hade only five or six seamen to a watch, and most of these non of the best neither; and there was about twenty landmen able to move, who had eneugh adoe by perpetuall pumping to keep the ship above water. But, however, the few men we hade went to work, and in about a week's tyme gott up jury masts of such stuff as we hade left, and then setting saill we were not able to recover Jamaica. But July 25th made the Bay of Mattances upon Cuba, when Captain Forbes dyed. The 26th our Capt. went in his pinnace into the bay, but instead of water found a Spainish fort of 20 or 24 gunns, and never see it till under its command, where, by an inadvertancy, Mr. Spense, our linguist, stept ashore to some Spainiards, who handed him. After they hade gotten him, they endeavoured to secure the boat by commanding it with their gunns and small armes; but, in caice that would not doe, by maning a periagua after her; but our men, perceiving their delayes and preparations, took their opportunity and gott away. They were shott att severall tymes, and pursued by the periagua; but were so happy as to escape; and in the meane tyme the ship

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escaped narrowly from running ashore for want of hands.

" That evening we sett saill from the Mattances, and after lykewayes running great hazard of shipwreck upon the coast of Virginia, where, August the seventh, we struck severall tymes, we arryved at Sandy Hook, near New Yorke, the 13th, and at New Yorke 14th of August last, under God owing the safety of the ship and our lives to the care and industry of our commander, Captain John Anderson.

" When we were come to New York we were much concerned to find so universall ane inclination in all sorts of people, who seemed to regrete our leaving the place more then we; and by our friends we then understood that some sloops and vessels were gone to Caledonia, and a great many more, notwithstanding all prohibitions, were following after, if the unhappy account of our misfortunat leaving the place had not stopt them.

" In our voyage from the collony to New York we lost neare 150 of about 250 persons putt on boord, most of them for want of looking after and meanes to recover them, in which condition we hade no small loss and inconveniency by the sickness and death of Mr. Hector Mackenzie, our chief chyrurgeon, who dyed off the Cap St. Antonio, July the 12th, of a distemper wholly or in a great measure contracted by his unwearied paynes and industrie among the people on shore, as well as on boord, for many weeks together, when there was hardly any other willing, if able, or at least capable, of helping them.

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"The shipe Caledonia was about ten dayes at New York before us, where, when I arryved, I was brought soe very low by my distempers and troubles of mynd, that for some time my life was not expected. In the meantyme a transaction was made with Messrs. Wenham and Delancie by Mr. Samuell Veatch and Mr. Thomas Drummond, in order to fitt out a sloop to returne to the collony, and to supply the ship Caledonia with provisions for Scotland. My indisposition disabled me from medling; but Capt. Robert Drummond can give a larger account of that matter, as having been concerned in the whole course of that affair, together with the aforesaid two councellors.

"About the 18th of September, Captain Thomas Drummond was dispatched back to the collony in a sloop with armes, ammunition, provisions, working toolls, and orders to see and resetle the place, if the supplyes from Scotland were come up.

"Before Captain Thomas Drummond went away we hade received the Company's letter of the 22d Aprile, by way of New England, but had only flying reports, without any certainty, of what recruits were sailled from Scotland, only they seemed all to conclude that some Scots ships were past by the Leeward Islands, which we supposed to be the Captains Jamieson and Stark, after we had received yours of the 25th of June, the day before we sailled.

"Some dayes before I parted from New York Mr. Samuel Veatch acquainted me that he designed to stay there this winter, and that in the mean tyme he would look after the effects putt ashore, to satisfie Mrs Wen-

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ham & Delancie, and by that meanes he would be in readieness to goe back to the collony, when he should receive the Company's orders; but I would have spoke with him about this matter more at large, but his sudden going on boord the ship, then lying six leagues off, prevented me; nor did I see him till I came on boord, when I found him determined to stay behind us.

"*October 12th.*—We sett saill in the ship Caledonia from Sandy Hook, neare New Yorke, and after a tempestuous, stormy passage, although but little contrary winds, we made the west coast of Ireland, Saturday, November 11th, and, by reasone of the mists and currents, we were in great danger off the rocks of Ferney, November 13th, about 10 at night. After that, the wind coming short and exceeding stormy, after no small danger, we were obleidged to come to an anchore at the northerly entrance of the sound of Isla, and there we road it out in most violent stormes, till Monday, 20th November, when we gott into the Sound, and came to an anchore in a safe place and smooth water, under God owing our safety, and that of the ship, to the great vigilancy and industrie of our commander, Robert Drummond.

"Upon the ship's arryveall in the Sound, Captain Drummond immediately dispatched the Captains William Murray and Laurence Drummond express to Edinburgh, to acquaint the Company with our arryveall. Next morning, being Tuesday, the 21st of November, in company with Captain John Campbell, I parted in a boat for the main land, and from thence by easie journeyes and some stops, by resone of indispositions, I

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arryved here att Edinburgh, Tuesday, December the fifth instant.—I ame,

" Right honourable,
" Your most humble and most obedient servant,
" WILL^M. PATERSON.

The King had now yielded to the remonstrances of Spain against the alleged encroachments upon her possessions by the Scotch; and the governors of our colonies were ordered to prohibit supplies being afforded to them. But the prohibition would have been given with reluctance by the governors, and generally disobeyed by the remote planters, if the first Scottish expedition had been led with courage and prudence. It is clear that the Indians favoured it, and that the Spanish title was doubtful. As soon as King William began to recover from the delusion of his French alliance, new views were entertained by him on that head; and the pretensions of the commander of a ship-of-war for a pecuniary indemnity for planting His Majesty's flag in token of acquiring the sovereignty of the Gulf of Darien were next year received with favour. (App. T.)

VII.

Paterson was one of the first to perceive that the King would ere long change the policy which had led to the opposition to the Darien settlement; and his own conduct upon coming home was beyond all praise, strongly exemplifying the remarkable trait in his character which ever prompted him to rise superior to reverses. Full justice was now done to his merits in

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the opinion of the public, cruelly as he was left to struggle with his personal difficulties, and deeply as he had to deplore his disasters in Darien, where he had lost his wife and only child—a son.

Before the unjustifiable abandonment of Darien by the first colonists was known in Scotland, a second and a third party had been sent out, and a few characteristic letters from Paterson to individuals engaged in these expeditions have been published by the Bannatyne Club. To Captain Thomas Drummond he writes on the 6th February, 1700,—

"God grant this may find you with the Rising Sun and other ships in the company's colony. Your industry, your constancy, and your integrity ought and will, I doubt not, lay lasting obligations on all true patriots; and besides that, the great kindness and value you have, in the hardest times and circumstances, had for me, lays me also under those that are particular. I have not forborne to do you justice in all, and especially in that your last worthy offer and hazard of yourself from New York, when you left me much indisposed; but, thanks be to God, I am wonderfully recovered, only a great cold and feverish humour oppress me at present, but I hope it will be soon over. The company are, you may be sure, ill satisfied with our leaving the colony, and at those moles of councillors who had not foresight enough to provide for the danger before it came upon them. Pray take warning by what has happened, and provide against a time of need; and, whatever happens, do what becomes men of prudence, forecast, and constancy. The company are exceeding

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hearty and sensible, and do seem to make amends for any former neglect or defect, which God grant may be a pledge of their future success. Pray do what you can to draw men to you, and keep them with you.

"I hope in some time all our opposition from England will fall to the ground, that their eyes will be opened to see their interest herein. In the meantime we can expect no good from them as a government.

"Your keeping possession until powerfully supplied from hence is of vast consequence. God Almighty enable you to do it for his own glory and the good of this poor despised kingdom!

"I comfort myself hoping that at last the Almighty will make us glad according to the days wherein he has afflicted us; and in all my troubles it is no small satisfaction to have lived to give the company and the world unquestionable proof, that I have not had any sinister nor selfish designs in promoting this work, and that unfeigned integrity has been at the bottom of it. How and what I have suffered in the prosecution thereof, God only knows, and may the Almighty lay it no further to their charge who have been the cause. I have always prayed for this, but must needs confess I could never, since my unkind usage, find the freedom of spirit I do now. I must add, that my concern of spirit is such, that I could not only join with those who have done me prejudice, although it had been willingly, but even with the greatest enemy I am capable of having, to save my country and secure this company. But it is far from this, for I am persuaded that what has been done to my prejudice has been done ignorantly,

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as appears by the worthy and kind reception after so many misfortunes."

Again, to the Rev. Alexander Shields, he writes the same day :—

"I am glad a person of your worthy principles and constancy is at the head of the company's colony. Our tarpaulin councillors' raw heads and undigested thoughts ruined us before. The difficulties I had met with in Scotland were turned into browbeatings in Caledonia. This discomposed my mind, broke and discouraged my thoughts ; yet had my advice been taken time enough, we had not left the colony as, nor when, we did. There was not one of the old councillors fit for government ; and things were gone too far before the new took place.

"I am not without hope of returning to the colony, but I shall endeavour in the first place to get the needful reinforcements and supplies from Europe."

He used his influence most wisely, recommending moderation when all Scotland was in a frenzy of indignation against the English as the main agents in the calamities that followed one after another in this unhappy business, in which three several expeditions, well appointed and numerous, entirely failed, and few of the adventurers returned. (App. T 2.)

A short passage in a despatch from the royal commissioner in Scotland, the Duke of Queensberry, to the King shews at once the poverty to which Paterson was reduced, and the estimation in which nevertheless he was now held.

"The African Company," says his Grace, in a letter dated at Holyrood House the 31st August, 1700,

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" have appointed a committee of seven of their number to confer with Mr. Paterson; and to concert, and digest in writing, such things as they shall agree upon as proper to be demanded in Parliament. Mr. Paterson is, in his judgment, against moving anything in this session about Caledonia, and tells me that he thinks he has gained some considerable men to his opinion. The poor man acts with great diligence and affection to the king and country. He has no bye-end, and loves this Government both in Church and State. He knows nothing yet of my having obtained anything for him; and I am a little embarrassed how to give him what I am allowed for him, lest his party in that Company should conceive any unjust jealousy of him, or he himself think that I intend as a bribe that which is really an act of charity."—State Papers and Letters addressed to William Carstares. Edinburgh. 4to. 1774; p. 631.

Having succeeded in his efforts to calm the minds of many—perhaps in preventing civil war (App. U), he devised an excellent plan of social improvement at home, which was partially adopted at the time, and which appears in some material points to have entered into our public policy in after years. That plan is the subject of the " Proposals of a Council of Trade," the first of his books here re-published. The Introduction to it contains the noblest sentiments suggested by the sufferings of the nation as well as by his own. The scheme will be seen to anticipate some important measures at this moment under earnest consideration in every part of the United Kingdom, and throughout the civilised world. It had also the special advantage of

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opportunely presenting a means of compensating the Scotch for their losses in Darien, afterward agreed to at the Union, which it thus materially facilitated. Of Paterson's ability to produce such a work there can be no reasonable doubt. Among his many great merits, that which was the most to his honour as a Scotchman was his well-grounded confidence in the capabilities and resources of his native land when some of the ablest and best of her sons were too desponding. Disorderly and poor as her people were, he seized upon the fittest means of improving and enriching them: namely, instruction in the place of neglect and brute coercion—industry in the place of idleness, together with freedom and their share in the trade of the world, of which he saw their genius made them worthy.

The authorship of this little work has been curiously mistaken. It first appeared anonymously in 1700 in Edinburgh; and was probably distributed privately without regular publisher or sale. In 1751, however, it was published in Glasgow as John Law's, in a series of similar volumes. One of the series, the *Money and Trade*, which Law did write, was originally published in Edinburgh in 1705, and republished in London in 1720, with a preface by the Earl of Islay. If Law had been the writer of the *Proposals of a Council of Trade*, the motives were strong to give him the credit of it also, in order to raise him when his schemes were urgently pressed upon the public, yet it was not then claimed to be his. The grounds on which it is now unhesitatingly attributed to the pen of Paterson, are stated in the editor's preface to it.

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But Paterson not only devised, in 1700, this able scheme of Scottish improvement, but the next year he seized with a masterly hand an opportunity, then offered by a revolution in European politics, to revive the expedition to Darien, and to extend it to other important parts of Spanish America, with the zealous support of the English Government. In the autumn of 1701, James II. died in France; and Louis XIV. threw off the mask under which he had deceived King William from the Peace of Ryswick, acknowledging the Pretender as King of England, as he had already taken decisive measures to secure French influence over Spain and the Indies, instead of faithfully carrying out the treaties of partition. Before the end of the year the whole English nation was roused by these acts of hostility and presumption; and the King delivered in Parliament on the 31st of December his famous speech of defiance, soon distributed all over Europe, to urge the Grand Alliance to a ten years' triumphant war. Paterson had earnestly watched this surprising turn in political events; and a petition from him to the King at the same date, with a memoir on British enterprise in Central America, is the second of his writings here published. Both are valuable historical documents; and they were found in a repository—the Long Collection in the Museum—which would guarantee their authenticity if their genuineness were not clearly attested by their style and the character of their contents. (App. U 2.)

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VIII.

At this period Paterson was received in London by King William with much personal kindness on two other accounts. His financial views had always pleased the King; and it is probable that a short, but very remarkable, document *upon a Sinking Fund*, introduced into the notes to Paterson's last work on that subject, was from his pen. He had also always entered zealously into his Majesty's policy of a legislative Union of England and Scotland.

A letter from himself, printed in his lifetime, places his relations with the King at this period in a striking and satisfactory light. It was addressed to the Lord Treasurer Godolphin in 1709, and published in Boyer's Political State, 1711, p. 269, and in the Dialogues of 1717.

"In the time of the usurpation," he says, "the receipts of the several branches of the public revenue were extracted from the old perplexed forms, and, being reduced to one channel, a plain and easy method was laid down, and pursued with such exactness, that the payments were brought to near as great a certainty as in Venice and Holland. Upon the Restoration, to oppose whatever the usurper had done, right or wrong, the old intricate forms were resumed, and the disorder in its receipts and payments were not only continued, but increased.

"At the Revolution it was expected that these disorders would have been redressed. But instead of this the confusions of the revenue have grown greater than

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in any time before—nay to such a degree, that the throne has been thereby shaken, the public credit violated, the coin adulterated, high premiums and interests allowed, scandalous discounts made necessary, navigation and foreign and domestic improvements discountenanced or abandoned, frauds and corrupt practices in the trade and revenues rather countenanced than discouraged, and those few who endeavoured or performed anything towards reforming these disorders oppressed or neglected.

"By such an administration at home the late King's affairs could not but prove as they did, abortive abroad, and at last end in such a peace as only served to renew the war.

"In the last months of the life of this great but then uneasy prince, I had access to him, when, finding him in much perplexity and concern about the state of his affairs, I took opportunity to represent to him that his misfortunes did not so much proceed from the variable tempers or humours of his people, as some pretended, but rather from the men of his house, or those he had trusted with his business, who, either for want of capacity or experience, or that they preferred themselves to him, had brought the affairs of the kingdom into such confusion as made his subjects uneasy; and now, at last, instead of removing the causes of complaint, they had presumed to employ his treasure and authority to silence the complainers; that as matters stood there were no reins of government, no inspection, no inquiry into men's conduct—every man did as he pleased, for nobody was punished nor indeed rewarded

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according to merit; and thus his revenue was sunk, and his affairs in the utmost confusion.

"He owned this, but asked for remedies; upon which I proposed that, in the first place, he should put the management of the revenues on the right footing, without which all other remedies would prove ineffectual. The first step towards reforming his revenue was that of restoring the public credit, by making provision of interest for all the national debts, and taking care for the time to come such should be granted as to prevent further deficiency. The course of the Treasury and Exchequer should be so regulated, both in receipts and payments, as to render them easy to be understood, and so certain and prudent as to leave no room for fraud or ill practices in time to come. In order to this, I proposed a method of inquiry and inspection from time to time into the behaviour of all men concerned in the revenue, to be laid down and nicely executed. Thus I shewed him he would be quickly out of debt, and at least a fourth part of the revenue saved. (App. U 3.)

"The next thing I proposed to him was an attempt upon the principal ports of the West Indies, by which he might be enabled not only to carry on the war at the expense of the enemy, but open a secure and direct trade for ever between those rich and vast continents of Mexico and Peru and this kingdom. I added that to secure the Spanish monarchy from France, the true way was to begin with the West Indies, since it was more practicable to make Spain and other dominions in Europe follow the fate of the West Indies, than

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to make the West Indies, if once in the power of France, follow the fate of Spain. Besides, France would thereby be enabled to carry on the war by the bullion, and other wealth of the West Indies.

"The third thing I proposed was an Union with Scotland, than which I convinced him nothing could tend more to his glory, and to render this island great.

"The fourth thing I proposed,—and which I told him was to be done first to restore his authority, and show the world that for the time to come he would no more suffer such a loose and unaccountable administration as his being a stranger to men and things here had forced him to so wink at hitherto,—was a present commission of inquiry, by which he would see by whom his affairs had been mismanaged, and who they were who, under pretence of mending matters, perplexed and made them still worse: in particular he would be at a point how far the present debts had arisen from mismanagement, or from deficiency of funds.

"I spoke next of the nature of this commission, with which and the other proposals he seemed extremely satisfied, as is evident by his last memorable speech, in which he earnestly recommends the retrieving of the public credit, and offers his concurrence in all such inquiries as should be necessary; and it is plain by the ninth article of the Grand Alliance, and by his messages to Parliament, how much he laid to heart both the affairs of the West Indies and the Union."

The designs thus proposed by Paterson were adopted by King William, with extraordinary energy. (App. U 4.)

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They were not, however, followed up in the next reign, but must be included in the number of "the profitable expeditions to the West Indies, which," according to the political writers of the day, "were proposed from time to time by public-spirited persons, and then laid aside."

IX.

Although the accession of Anne paralysed the American plans which Paterson had formed, and King William favoured, the Queen's Ministers advocated *the Union* warmly until the measure was carried. The Lord Treasurer Godolphin now consulted him personally on important matters of finance, as is expressly proved by a statement in his financial work of 1717, but without giving him the position his talents claimed, and which it is reasonable to suppose he would have enjoyed if the King's life had happily been prolonged.

In the year 1709, shortly before the fall of the Whig Ministry, he addressed the following letter to its chief, Lord Godolphin:—

"Your Lordship has herewith a paper drawn by me in September, 1702. (App. U 5). It contains my sentiments of some things I thought needful to be proposed and done in the Session of Parliament then ensuing; and, after having reviewed this and other papers, I cannot but be of opinion that these and such like methods timely and effectually pursued, had saved many millions, and left this kingdom in a much better condition to carry on the war, or to be a guarantee of a just and lasting peace, than it now is."

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Then follow the paper, and the account of his interviews with King William, and he continues—

"I must confess the death of that great Prince brought such a damp upon my spirits, that I had lost all hopes of being further useful in such matters, had it not pleased your Lordship to lay your commands upon me to go on, as I did. Thus in the first year of the Queen, an Act passed for settling a fund to make good the parliamentary deficiency; and the Parliament not only readily granted effectual funds for future supplies, but likewise expressed a hearty inclination to concur in whatever should be proposed by her Majesty for preventing deficiences in time to come; and your Lordship ordered matters so well, that only five per cent. interest was paid upon most of the short periods, and was also wisely pleased to direct that lenders should not, as formerly, be admitted to bring into the Exchequer all their money at once, but only by degrees. Thus considerable sums of interest were saved, credit began to recover, and the circulation of specie was rendered more easy and free.

"But, notwithstanding the surprising success of these preparatory steps in the first year of her Majesty's reign, contrary measures have been since pursued; high interest again introduced; the public revenue either quite sold or anticipated for time out of view; and the ordinary revenue of customs overloaded in an unparalleled manner, which, if not timely redressed, must end in the ruin of trade.

"An expedition to the Indies was likewise that year set on foot, but soon after countermanded. (App. U 6.)

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However that happened, I hope your Lordship will always own how constantly I have insisted thereon as the easiest and most valuable design this nation can possibly be engaged in; since by only advancing five or six hundred thousand pounds—a sum inconsiderable compared with the vast expenses and losses in which the kingdom has been since involved, France and Spain might, long ere this, have been at our mercy, and both the power and trade of this nation raised to such a pitch as possibly we shall never have the like opportunity to reach again.

"A treaty of an union with Scotland was set on foot the same year, but came to nothing; and, although several things succeeded the rupture of that treaty not very union-like, yet it pleased God, in his great goodness, to bless her Majesty's inexpressible sincerity and unwearied endeavours therein, so that in some years after this union was happily completed: and, had the peaceful spirit and true genius of the union of interests been more cordially prosecuted, this whole island had, before this time, felt the good consequences thereof, and been entirely reconciled to it.

"Upon the whole, instead of the valuable securities and advantages we might have justly expected from a sincere and vigorous prosecution of those wise and solid measures of the King, we now see the then national debt of fifteen or sixteen millions, so far from being diminished, that they are near, if not quite, doubled; the public revenues almost wholly alienated; and yet about one-third of our new debts still without funds to pay them; Navy Bills, and other such defi-

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cient credit, at 20 to 25 per cent. discount, and in danger of falling still lower; with all the other parts of the public credit in proportion. This disorder must increase if any considerable part of public supplies be raised by anticipations on remote or doubtful funds. Our home industry and improvements are under insupportable difficulties; most of the branches of our foreign trade so overcharged as to amount to prohibition; not only our reasonable designs to the West Indies, but even navigation itself, and our proper plantations and acquisitions abroad abandoned or neglected; our enemies suffered to carry away millions that might have been ours; and the true spirit of the union, with the great advantages that would otherwise have naturally followed upon it, has been stifled and suppressed.

"In fine, after so much blood and treasure spent, and notwithstanding all our victories abroad, we not only see Great Britain thus sinking at home, but even the fall of Christendom still depends on the high success of the German and Flanders war.

"Your Lordship knows how much and how long I have insisted upon the prevention and redress of these disorders, and given very frequent warnings of what would follow if timely and due care were not taken. All I can do now is again to renew my suggestions.

"First. That a true state of the public revenue and debts may be immediately prepared and laid before the House of Commons, to the end they may be prevailed upon to make the necessary provision of interest for

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such debts; to grant the supplies, so as to secure the nation from further deficiencies; and to provide that the payments be as regular and certain as in Venice or Holland.

"Second. That the Council of Trade be speedily put in a way of being more useful to the public, especially because, if timely and due care be taken, this constitution may be brought to give visible credit and vigour to the administration, even before the end of this session of parliament.

"To which suggestions I now, for reasons obvious enough, add, that all possible countenance may be given towards inspecting the state of the Admiralty and naval affairs, so as the Queen may be better enabled to reform what may be there amiss; and that the present condition and circumstances of the kingdom of Ireland be carefully stated, that it may be more perfectly known how much a complete union with that island will add to the wealth and security of Great Britain.

"There are several matters of weight, both as to the nature and consequence of these proposals, not so proper to be committed to writing, of which I shall have the honour to acquaint your Lordship by word of mouth, when so happy as to be again admitted to kiss your hands. Meantime, I am, &c."

This letter the editor of the Political State deservedly treats as the production of one who had "no small skill in State affairs." He adds that the writer of it was the person who projected the Bank of England, and he had prefaced it as "Mr. Paterson's Letter to the late Lord Treasurer."

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His fortune was too much shattered by the double disaster attending his connection with his great Scottish Company to permit his return to trade, as he had so courageously proposed in 1697 upon the occurrence of the loss in Holland. He abandoned his all on that occasion to save his good name, and the price of the sacrifice may be estimated by the degree in which the want of his fortune excluded him from active association with his equals, until justice was done for him as he was hastening to the grave. His health, too, had suffered much in Darien from the combined effects of disappointment, of climate, and domestic affliction.

But his fertile mind was at least a source of consolation to himself, and not without influence upon others. He was still a high authority on all the subjects he had taken so distinguished a part in. Of this abundant evidence remains, notwithstanding the frequent assertion that upon the ruin of the Darien Settlement he retired to obscurity in Scotland.

From 1703 to his decease, in 1719, he resided in Westminster, as is attested by *his proposal* to found a public library of trade, preserved in the British Museum;—by a passage in one of Charles Lesley's Jacobite tracts;—and by the probate of his will. He lived in Queen-square, and there is a tradition that he was joint projector of it with Sir Theodore Janssen. His second wife had property in Pimlico; and he provides in his will for her children by a former marriage. In the water company, of which he had been the chief promoter twelve years previously, he kept

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some interest as long as he lived. Skill in engineering seems to have been among his various attainments. Several valuable works on that subject are entered in the catalogue of his library, preserved in the Museum; and at the close of his memoir on British enterprise in America, a paper by himself on nautical improvements is referred to. (App. V.)

The proposal he made in 1703 was not only of great national advantage in itself, but it indicated the eminence of his social position, as well as the elevation of his views—it was the proposal of a public library for the study of commerce and finance, for which good purpose he offered his own valuable collection of special printed books and manuscripts on both subjects; and he introduced the proposal by an able essay, shewing the urgent need of means being taken to improve upon our forefathers in commercial and financial science. No man was better entitled than himself to give an opinion to that effect; and cruel experience had taught him how much the English people stood in need of instruction in that science. Shortly after Paterson's proposals were made, the Earl of Halifax took the first step to secure the Cotton Collection, from the acquisition of which by the nation may be dated the foundation of the British Museum, which contains vast materials in furtherance of the views of the philosophical Scottish merchant; and to which the adoption of his proposals would have given an utility not yet secured to its unknown treasures. This fine idea of a library of Political Economy is adopted at Hamburgh, and it has been taken up zealously

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elsewhere on the Continent and in the United States.

Paterson gave a better, because an older, example of this good thing. His views combined landed with trading interests, and his estimate of the value of all the branches of knowledge that ensure the due developement of national industry and wealth, public and private, is an excellent recommendation of such efforts as his to diffuse such knowledge. He has expressed that estimate in a few golden words prefixed to the catalogue of his own library, when he dedicated it in his lifetime to the public use.

His library was limited to works on "trade, revenue, and navigation," and to whatever illustrates those subjects, of which he observes as follows:—

"This catalogue has been extracted from a collection upon those subjects, to give some better idea than is commonly conceived of the books necessary to the knowledge of matters so deep and extensive as trade and revenue; the which, notwithstanding the noise of many pretenders, may well be said not yet to be truly methodised—nay, nor perhaps to have been tolerably considered by any.

"Trade and revenue are here put together; since the public, and indeed any other revenues, are only branches of the increase from the industry of the people, whether in pasture, agriculture, manufactures, navigation, extraordinary productions or inventions, or by all of those.

"So that to this necessary, and it is to be hoped now rising, study of trade, there is requisite not only as

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complete a collection as possible of all books, pamphlets, and schemes relating to trade, revenues, navigation, inventions or improvements, ancient or modern, but likewise of the best histories, voyages, and accounts of the states, laws, and customs of countries. From these collections it will be more clearly understood how the various effects of wars, conquests, fires, inundations, plenty, want, good or bad management or influence of government, and such like, have more immediately affected the rise and decline of the industry of a people.

"The friends to this study are desired to contribute what they can towards rendering this small collection more complete and fit for public use; and for this purpose to communicate the titles of such books or papers as they have heard to be extant on these and the like subjects.

"Some of the MSS. belonging to this collection being at present dispersed, and others not yet brought into order, the catalogue thereof is deferred.

"Westminster, August 23, 1703."

All that is known of the result of this remarkable invitation is, that the catalogue of Paterson's own books so given to the public, is in the British Museum, Harl. MSS. No. 4564.

It gives an interesting view of the donor's acquirements; his extensive acquaintance with modern languages; and the enlarged idea he had of the intelligence to be expected in an accomplished merchant.

It has been proposed to establish a Paterson Public Library, upon the basis of his collection, as a fitting

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monument to a great man; and as calculated at no distant time to provide the means of public instruction on matters of national interest.

One of the points of the Committee on Public Libraries is to form commercial libraries in our great towns; but it is still an urgent want in England, whilst in Scotland that want is supplied by the munificence of a citizen of Glasgow. (App. W.)

From this time it is clear Paterson took a warm interest in the discussions, which had become of increasing importance, respecting the Union. Although domiciled in London from his youth, he had never ceased to look back upon Scotland with the warmest affection; and so late as in 1705, the Scottish Parliament rejected Law's scheme of an inconvertible paper currency, entirely upon his sounder principles. His pen was now busy in advocating other Scottish interests; but especially the Union, which is the subject of the third of his works in this volume. He had also always entered into the great general interests of the Metropolis; and, like the more brilliantly accomplished Dr. Arbuthnot, contributed with no small effect to the removal of prejudices which still lingered in southern society against the stirring men of the North.

He was employed by the Government both in London and Edinburgh in preparing the financial accounts requiring to be settled for the just apportionment of the public burthens after the Union. Unquestionably his authority in this matter stood high, as whilst advocacy of the Union itself was as undisguised as it was earnest. Nevertheless, he was elected Member of the first United

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Parliament for the Dumfrieshire Boroughs, where the popular discontent at that measure almost broke out into civil war. His return under such circumstances was no slight proof of the esteem in which he was personally held; but the return was double, and his petition upon it failed. (App. W 2.)

In Dumfries indeed the popular feeling against the Union was extraordinarily strong, especially among his own partisans—the Covenanters. He manfully however resisted what misled his countrymen, for instead of sharing "the national mistake," which required fifty years to correct, he held it to be a prejudice which wise rule could remove. When reflecting with complacency upon the extent of delusion on this subject under which our forefathers laboured, and from which we are free, it would be just to give to such an exception as William Paterson his signal mark of honour. (App. W 3.)

In the same year, 1707, he was the object of remarkable consideration on another point, as appears by the terms of an Act of Parliament, 6 Anne, c. 51, settling the distribution of the indemnity fund called the Equivalent, by the Court of Exchequer of Scotland. The Act expressly states, sec. 21, that in the accounts of the African Company's debt, to be provided for out of that fund, Mr. Paterson's claims had been omitted; it therefore enacts that no such omission should prejudice his rights. It adds still further, sec. 22, that "in regard that, since the first contracts, the said William Paterson hath been at further expences, and sustained further losses and damages for the said Company, the Court of Exchequer of Scotland should take

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account thereof, and likewise of his good services and public cares, and make a full and fair report thereof to Her Majesty." Under this Act, the Exchequer adjudged the sum of 18,241*l.* 10*s.* 10½*d.* to Paterson, concluding the report with a strong opinion that those services, independently of his great efforts to promote the interests of the Darien Company, deserved an honourable recompense.

From this time occasional glimpses only have been got of him, who, as the successful merchant and enlightened projector of great designs, had so long been the object of universal respect and attention. He lived in Westminster, in circumstances so reduced, that his leisure is believed to have been sometimes occupied in teaching mathematics and navigation. The Editor has been told of an advertisement inviting scholars to his lessons; but that interesting notice has not been found. He was a water-drinker in an age of free-livers. Nevertheless he frequented the coffee-houses, then the famous scenes of all political, commercial, and literary intercourse. This habit is recognised in a remark in a tract about his residence in Holland; it probably suggested his *Club* Dialogues of 1706 and 1717, and it is traced in the execution of his will, in 1718, "at the Ship tavern without Temple Bar." It is believed that Sir Andrew Freeport, the distinguished trade-member of the Spectator Club—whether drawn by Addison or Steele—was portrayed after William Paterson. The Spectator had a learned Scottish contributor in Mr. Dunlop,—son of Paterson's friendly and just judge, the Principal of Glasgow Uni-

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versity; and, although the name of *Andrew* was not then so exclusively Scottish as at present, it has a somewhat strong leaning in that direction. It is certain that all the characters of the Spectator Club were portraits; and the principles, the practice, and courtesies of this noble type of the free-trader—the British merchant of 1709, are eminently characteristic of Paterson.

His residence in Queen Square, Westminster, at this period, is fixed by a passage in one of the party tracts of Charles Lesley, mentioning his sufferings, and the neglect of him as a reproach to the Government, and a ground of public dissatisfaction. *After* he had recovered his Darien indemnity in 1715, his name occurs in the books of the Scottish Corporation in Crown Court as one of the most liberal contributors to that charity. His views at that time upon the difficult question of the restoration of the Episcopalian clergy in Scotland are expressed in the following letter, written when that subject was under anxious consideration. He was no indifferent member of the religious community to which he belonged, the Kirk of Scotland. He never forgot her cause, for which he had suffered in youth, although his early zeal tempered by friendly and profitable intercourse with all manner of men, had long been moderated. After the accession of Queen Anne the Episcopalian clergy made vigorous efforts to be restored in Scotland, at which time he published a Letter upon the question of religious toleration, which those efforts much embarrassed. That body of ministers formed a powerful section of the

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anti-revolution party; and it was much strengthened by the death of King William as it was already fortified by his impolitic resistance to the Darien colony. Queen Anne was disposed to indulge the Episcopalians; and the Presbyterian party was alarmed, so that a violent opposition arose against what otherwise would have been conceded with mutual advantage; and a Bill for the toleration of all Protestants was necessarily abandoned by the Government. In reference to this state of things, Paterson wrote as follows "to a great minister in England."

"The truth is, most men were so sensible of the great peace and quiet the country enjoyed since the Revolution under established Presbytery, and so mindful of the great troubles and persecution prelacy had caused, and withal so convinced that, there having been neither persecution nor pressure of conscience under Presbytery, there could be no just place for a toleration,—and that toleration in such case would in effect prove a proclaimed license to disturb, and not a charitable relief to weak persons aggrieved, which is the only reason to be pleaded for it: upon these considerations, the Parliament proceeded very readily to ratify the Protestant religion and Presbyterian government in its full establishment, and fence the claim of right, whereof Presbyterian party is an article, with the severest sanction, *that none should quarrel with, or impugn it, under the pain of Treason.* And thus the expectation of a toleration vanished."*

* Boyer's Political State, 1711, p. 470; from the Post Boy, 10 Nov. 1705.

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How wise Paterson's opposition to the Act was on this occasion is strikingly illustrated by a passage in the "Four Last Years of the Reign of Queen Anne." This Act of Toleration is there shewn to have been passed by a parliamentary trick—not to stay any persecution of the Episcopalian clergy in Scotland. The trick succeeded, with the result that the Act so passed was "a watchword to the Non-jurors in both kingdoms, who now openly declared for the Pretender with impunity."

His pen seems to have now been in constant use; and an obscure *literary* link has occurred in a bill of exchange for 100*l.*, drawn upon Jacob Tonson, the bookseller, by Paul Daranda, Paterson's generous executor, which is given in the plate of fac-similes.

Whether his step-children of two marriages, provided for by his will, lived with him, nowhere appears; but his kindly thoughts of his Dumfrieshire relatives are testified by the legacies left to them; and *J. Mounsey*, who signs Paterson's Darien debenture of 1718, here set forth with the letter of Secretary Stanhope, may be reasonably presumed to have been one of his nephews, and probably the ancestors of the two Scottish physicians of the last century to the court of Russia, bearing that name, and known to have been of his kindred.

Enough is here stated to shew Paterson's social position to have long secured to him great personal respect; although adverse circumstances deprived him of the weight which his experience and his abilities ought to have commanded.

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X.

The last resolution of the independent Scottish Parliament recommended William Paterson to Queen Anne for honourable employment. Notwithstanding this high testimony to his merit, an adverse influence frustrated his endeavours even to obtain common justice throughout that reign, not to speak of the utter disregard of his rare abilities by the queen's later ministers. He took, indeed, a decided part against the re-establishment of the Scottish Episcopalians at home, and he was a warm partizan of the Hanoverian succession; and he had a political weight that may be estimated by the slight anecdote mentioned in the memoirs of Baillie of Jerviswood, that his opinion was enough to determine a controversy to the disadvantage of a leading Scottish statesman. But it was justly matter of severe reproach to the ministers that they should utterly neglect one whose antecedents had been so remarkable, whose capacity was admitted by all, and whose urgent needs should have touched the most callous. This neglect was traced at the time to causes still discreditably prevalent. In Boyer's Political State for 1711 a complaint is made that "this great politician, the chief projector of the Bank of England, the main support of the Government, should be so disregarded that even the sums due to him are not paid. He was very instrumental (it is added) in bringing about the Union, when he was the person chiefly employed in settling the national accounts. There are two reasons why men of merit go unrewarded. Busy-bodies have more

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impudence, and get by importunity what others deserve by real services; and those at the helm are often obliged to bestow employment on their supporters without any regard to merit." The times were indeed evil for honest men when Prior, an unscrupulous man of wit, could describe conscience as a steed which,

> If ridden with an easy rein,
> And well rubbed down with worldly gain,
> Would carry you through thick and thin
> Safe, although dirty, to your inn.

But something worse than even this lay in his path. Paterson's own account of the refusal to pay the money due to him is that a "*violent party*" was allowed to do the wrong; and the case so much the more requires notice as it bore on a subject at that time much discussed, and become at present a topic of great public interest.

How to secure fit appointments to the public service, and fit promotion in it, was brought before Parliament by a Bill soon after the Revolution of 1688. It was a favourite topic with the earnest statesmen of the seventeenth century. Some of the sectarian Reformers among them even treated it as of religious obligation; and upon George Fox refusing a proffered advantage at the Protector's hands, Cromwell, who had no such scruples, said he did not know how government was to be carried on upon those terms. So this idol of some men's worship kept a rich piece of preferment, the provostship of Eton, open, as Whitelock narrates, in order that the hope of obtaining it might the more attach

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some backsliders to their patron. At the Restoration there was published on this head a solemn appeal, of which Charles II. proved to be little capable of feeling the force. It was founded on the ancient statutes of England, which enjoin all appointments to be made for "desert," not for "brocage or favour," under severe penalties, and the statute has by no means been a dead letter, as recorded cases prove. (App. X.)

In our time the subject has assumed still greater practical importance by the recent exposure of base principles upon which the wise modern reformation of our civil service has been opposed. In furtherance of that opposition, the Pagan doctrine of the power of "good luck" has been appealed to against Shakespeare's sublime Christian doctrine that

> In the reproof of chance lies the true proof of men.

But, hard as the task is to bring our practice into harmony with the requirements of a pure law, the advocates of corruption have, in the present case, met with deserved defeat. (App. Y.)

The Lord Treasurer Oxford was quite aware of Paterson's claims, and paid him small sums, duly entered in the accounts of the royal bounty. They seem to have been compensations for services in the management of the South Sea Company, and the amounts indicate the distress Paterson was reduced to. He was a Commissioner, but without any other share in forming that company, as appears by a letter preserved in the library of the city of London in Guildhall, and attributed to his pen. It is written in his candid spirit, and belongs

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to the period in which he was so unwisely laid aside. This document is here inserted in App. Z.

During these mournful years of Paterson's life he struggled manfully before the Parliament to make good his claims to a large share in the Scottish Equivalent. Successive Committees of the House of Commons supported him, and in 1713 a Bill passed the House in his favour, appropriating to him the sum of 18,000*l.*; but the Peers threw that Bill out (App. A A).

At length, in 1715, his hard trials came to an end, for which he was indebted to the accession of the House of Hanover.

XI.

Paterson's numerous relations with the continent are the least known, although they are perhaps among the most interesting circumstances of the more active portion of his career. That he went abroad before his first voyage to the West Indies is conjectured only from tradition. That he visited Prussia about the year 1686 in order to propose his Darien project to the great Elector of Brandenburgh is more certain; but only general traces of this interesting visit have yet been collected. That he was well known in "the coffee-houses of Amsterdam" before 1688, when they were thronged by the busy malcontents from England and Scotland, is known from a contemporary tract (App. B B), and his personal acquaintance with the Prince of Orange then may be safely surmised. He spoke Dutch, and was familiar with much that was of deep moment

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to the Prince. His intimate knowledge of the trade and finance of the continent undoubtedly contributed after the Revolution both to the foundation of the Bank of England, and to the other measures in which he bore a part for the improvement of the coin and advancement of credit in England. Of his presence in Holland at a later period painful evidence has been produced in the disastrous commission to buy stores for the Darien expedition in 1697. Whether, as is probable, he had intimate communications with Hamburgh at that time, and, as is even probable, with Hanover afterwards, are points requiring further inquiry, which the known care with which such records are kept in Germany renders promising. The intimate relations of eminent Englishmen with Leibnitz and others in Germany, during the reign of Queen Anne, can be traced in pamphlets and correspondence full of important details. The Electoral Court cultivated those relations sedulously, with a view to the succession to the throne of Great Britain; and there are believed to be valuable stores of manuscripts to be consulted abroad which will usefully illustrate public and private affairs of much interest to this country. George I. on his accession was well prepared, by previous acquaintance with English things and Englishmen, to appreciate them. To the fact that he did not come a stranger among us was owing the ill-success of the Pretender's invasion of Scotland in 1715; and to the same cause may be attributed the administrative change then so favourable to many who had long been friends to the House of Hanover as representing a great Protestant

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interest in the three kingdoms and upon the continent. Paterson shared in the advantages of this happy change, from which he sagaciously anticipated the great improvement which gradually took place in our public policy. (App. B B 2.)

In the General Record Repository there is preserved a memorial addressed by him to King George I., and referred by his Majesty to the Lords of the Treasury, which throws much light on Paterson's history and character. It is dated the 8th day of March, 1714-5, and its result was singularly satisfactory to him. Nothing, however, has been found to explain what previous steps were taken to facilitate his access to the King. The views set forth in this memorial, and the very important consequences to which it led in regard to our public finances, give great interest to it. The document is in the following words:—

"MEMORIAL OF MR. PATERSON.

"With much pain and expense he hath already made considerable progress towards a proper scheme or representation of some public affairs of the greatest consequence, particularly of the taxes, impositions, and revenues of Great Britain, with the anticipations and debts charged and contracted therein during the last twenty-six years, amounting to about fifty millions sterling.

"This scheme is to demonstrate in what cases those impositions may be rendered more easy to the subject, yet the revenues greatly improved, whereby of course

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this immense debt will be sooner and more easily discharged.

"But the great expense he hath been at in the last twenty-three years in things relating to the public service, and the non-payment of a considerable sum of the Equivalent money, detained from him for several years by a violent party, disables him at present from completing this design, wherein some material step might otherwise be taken in this very next Session of Parliament.

"His experience abroad as well as at home during twenty-nine years, especially in matters of general trade and public revenues, gives him hopes to be likewise useful in this great conjuncture of the accession of the Protestant line to the crown of Great Britain, towards inspecting and representing some material things relating to his Majesty's revenues and estates in Germany; that by a true knowledge of the trade, manufactures, and situation thereof, it may be better seen what sort of communication and correspondence will be materially beneficial to us and them who are become subjects of the same sovereign.

"Former neglects of these and like things make it no easy matter soon to put them in any tolerable light.

"However, five or six hundred pounds present supply would enable him to go forward with this great work till further provision be found proper."

Endorsed—"Memorial of Mr. Paterson to his Majesty, March 8, 1714-5."

This memorial was referred to the Lords Commis-

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sioners of the Treasury, with the following letter from the Secretary of State:—

"Whitehall, 18 March, 1714-5.

"The enclosed memorial from Mr. Paterson having been laid before the King, I am ordered to transmit the same to your Lordship, and to signify to you his pleasure that you report your opinion of what you think proper to be done for Mr. Paterson, to enable and encourage him to carry on what he offers in the said memorial, which his Majesty judges may be for his service.

"(Signed) JAMES STANHOPE."

Endorsed—"18th March, 1714-5.—From Mr. Secretary Stanhope, with a memorial from Mr. Paterson, desiring some money to enable him to go on in finishing a scheme proposed in his memorial. Read 4 June, 1715."*

This memorial touched the King and his ministers; so that within four months, instead of the "encouragement" of 500*l.* thus simply asked, 18,000*l.* was appropriated by Act of Parliament to Paterson's use, as due to him. The result gives a measure of the value of this noble work of justice, in the relief it afforded to him, and the provision it permitted him to make for his numerous step-children, and nephews and nieces. He seems also to have been now enabled to pay his own debts, whilst speculating upon the best way of dealing with those of the nation. His will, set forth here from the probate, is an eloquent index to the sufferings inflicted on him by the long delay

* Treasury Papers in the Public Office at the Rolls,

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in providing for his indemnity. The parliamentary grant of 1715 was 18,000*l.* of which the will disposes of 8,000*l.* only. The difference, 10,000*l.* must have been appropriated to *pay debts*. By his will he leaves his executor *Daranda* the munificent legacy of 1,000*l.* in acknowledgment of "the generosity" of that good man to himself "and his family." Daranda was the colleague of Paterson's banking enterprises in his most brilliant days, many years before. He seems also afterwards to have been familiar with his transactions and friends in Holland; and in the letters from Locke and others to Benjamin Furley, an English merchant of Amsterdam, of the Society of Friends, there is one of 1702 from the Earl of Shaftesbury, thanking Furley for the acquaintance of so valuable a man as "*Daranda*," without doubt the same individual advantageously known to us. Much more remains to be said of him (App. C C), but the legacy is noticed as a proof of Paterson's great need, which his friend had so long relieved. Twenty years had passed since those needs began to be severely felt; and during many of those years the ministers of Queen Anne permitted a "violent party" to embitter his declining days, by refusing him common justice. The example should be an warning to us. The like cases happen every day. Their very frequency has been alleged to justify the denial of right. How can the Government vindicate everybody? That the Lord Treasurer Oxford had any personal enmity to Paterson is an impossibility. But as the use is still, the minister delegated his duty to subordinates—a "violent party," who had a false interest to serve in crushing the un-

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compromising opponent to their political views; and they succeeded for many a weary year at a frightful sacrifice to their honourable victim. (App. D D.) This authentic record of Paterson's ultimate success against intrigue should stimulate the British public to demand a remedy of right at the Privy Council for such grievances.

XII.

The statute of redress was passed in July, 1715, the royal assent being given to it on the same day on which intelligence of the rebellion having broken out in Scotland arrived. The consequences of this liberal recognition of the claims of William Paterson attested his genuine worth, and far more than repaid the King's generous decision. His ready pen was thus enabled to produce the financial work which forms the fourth portion of the present volume; and that work was the basis of a system of managing the public funds that has already saved us millions, imperfectly as Parliament from the first carried out Paterson's plans, and these plans are probably destined, in wiser hands, to be the key-stone of the most important financial reforms.

A cotemporary critic, Boyer, in the Political State for March, 1717, positively attributes this book to the pen of Mr. Paterson, and concludes an elaborate review of it with the characteristic anecdote that some of "the meaner sort" of dealers in the public funds burned it in front of the Royal Exchange. The monied men called the proposed payment of the National Debt a "modified sponge." The title and number of pages of the

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book are given correctly in that review, with the names of the interlocutors of the Dialogues at "the Wednesday's Club," the fictitious members of which are the personages of Paterson's drama. An answer to the book, with the title of "No Club Law," was written by Dr. Broome, and replied to by a tract called "Fair Payment is no Sponge." This last production is given to "Paterson *or* De Foe," in the Eulogy of Walpole, published the same year, 1717. (App. E E.)

But all was not accomplished, even with the King's benevolent interposition, to secure tranquility to Paterson's latter days. Sincerely disposed as such ministers as Walpole, Stanhope, and Sunderland undoubtedly were to second His Majesty's gracious purpose on this occasion, and well as Parliament supported that purpose, official routine stepped in to delay the satisfaction of the "Equivalent" upon which the indemnity of 18,000*l.* was charged. Even with the Rebellion of 1715 to stimulate the Treasury to do an act of mere justice to numerous Scottish claimants of portions of that fund, its due settlement was delayed, and the parties exposed to the sacrifice of a large part of it to realise something for their wants. During the three following years Paterson did his part towards improving our system of taxation and currency, with small support from the men who were deluded by what was passing in France in those three years under the disastrous measure of his old opponent, John Law. Our Treasury had in it a crowd of sympathisers with the Missisippi projector, and they had no desire in any way to strengthen Paterson's hands. The mismanage-

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ment of the finances generally had also been long a subject of public complaint; and there is in the preamble of a statute of this reign, in regard to the Scottish Equivalent, a very singular confession of past errors ever since the passing of the Act of Queen Anne, in 1707, for its settlement under the Treaty of Union. The language of this statute of 1718 (5 Geo. I. c. 20) is perhaps unexampled in the frankness of that confession; and Paterson was but too seriously concerned in the consequences.

"By reason," it is there stated, "of many doubts in the construction of the Treaty and other laws relating to the excrescence of the said Equivalent, and to the growing equivalent due or becoming due to Scotland, and by reason of the many difficulties which attend separating and distinguishing between debts incurred before the Union and debts incurred for service of the United Kingdom (both which have been provided for without distinction since the Union), the Commissioners for the Equivalent have not been able to adjust the accounts thereof for the time past, and are like to meet with insuperable difficulties therein for the future, during so long time as the same is to continue in the terms of the said Treaty, although the making or endeavouring to make such accounts is attended with an excessive charge to the public, and may occasion great vexations and discontents in the United Kingdom."

Therefore a redeemable annuity of 10,000*l.* was granted to Commissioners, with 600*l.* a-year for managing that fund in favour of the Scottish claimants, of whom Paterson was formally acknowledged to be

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one. Debentures were to be issued upon this fund in proportion to the parties' claims, and he undoubtedly took his share of them.

This statute was passed in the Session of 1718, and the case of Paterson is a striking illustration of the evils admitted by the legislature in its incredible statement.

The last document discovered in regard to him exhibits in a deplorable light how he was now dealt with, and what effect that unworthy treatment had upon his spirits. It is the following letter to Secretary Stanhope, inclosing a copy of one of the debentures in which his indemnity was paid at interest only for a limited time, and available only at a future day, and obviously to be used only by a sacrifice of real value.

"MY LORD,—There is herewith inclosed a copie of the original Equivalent bill of 50*l.*, with a description of the emblem and motto, which I left with your Lordship at Hampton Court, and I hope it may be found or recovered; otherwise it will be proper for me to give notice at the office that I have lost such a bill, in order to prevent the payment thereof when due. I have this day transmitted to my Lord Sunderland my petition to his Majesty, requesting his Lordship's intercession for obtaining some settlement, or pension towards my support in this difficult juncture of my affairs, wherein I hope for your Lordship's particular favour and countenance.

"I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged and most humble servant, WILLM. PATERSON.

"Westminster, 8 Dec. 1718.

"To the Right Hon. the Earl Stanhope."

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(Copie.)

"No. 95.—I promise to pay to Edward Gibbon, Esq., or bearer, fifty pounds any time after the 28th day of February next, with two shillings and six pence per month for nine months, and no longer.—London, 28 August, 1718.

"£50. J. Mounsey."

"For the directors of the subscribed Equivalent debt.

"BENJN. LONGUET.

The emblem attached to this note was two serpents twisting round a pillar and a dove holding a scale: motto, "We stand united."

State Paper Office (Domestic) Geo. I., II., III. No. 4. Endorsed—"Mr. Paterson, 8 Dec. 1718."

This is the last trace hitherto found of William Paterson, who died in January following.

XIII.

The prodigious financial events which disturbed all Europe soon after his decease may, without exaggeration, be said to belong to his history; and the merit of his own correct appreciation of the Law delusions could not be tried by better tests than the disastrous occurrences in Paris and London in the next two years, after the vigilant opponent of these delusions was no more. The first successes of the Missisippi scheme in France a few months only afterwards bewildered some of the most sober British people. The corporation of Edinburgh, who, under better guidance, had in 1705 resisted the very same thing, now eagerly fell into the snare. They began in September 1719 by voting the freedom of the "gude town" to the man who was born

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there, and who, gifted with "*a most graceful person*, and a fine intellect," had become the "greatest banker in all Europe"—"Mensariorum per totam Europam facile princeps;" and the patron of commerce and civilisation in the wilds of America. Such is the language of the grave citizens of Edinburgh addressed, with their diploma of citizenship in a costly box, to John Law, Comte de Tankerville! This was not all; the Earl of Islay, in the next January, republished Law's *Money and Trade* of 1705, with a preface, not only boasting of the patronage accorded in that year by his lordship's father, the Duke of Argyle, to the gambler in countless millions, but he went so far as to treat the duel of 1696, when Law was capitally convicted at the Old Bailey for killing his antagonist Wilson, as a case in which the young Scot, become at length Comptroller of France, had been a martyr! Yet this victim of prejudice was justly reproached by another impartial Scotch writer as the man who had "lived by gambling and sharping" previously to proposing a scheme of forced paper, which the moneyed men disapproved, and the Scottish Parliament rejected as an improper expedient. The French bubble however, prevailing awhile, rapidly spread over London; so that its influence seems to have even extinguished the zeal of Paterson's sincere eulogist, Boyer, who carefully records in detail the foregoing double compliments to John Law; but does not in his monthly necrology give so much as an entry of Paterson's death. A biographical notice of him was to be expected in the pages of The Political State, where he had been more than once vindicated. This however

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would call for a comparison of his opinions with those of Law, which for eighteen months misled so many to their ruin; and when the storm passed, it left such deep traces of mischief, that the very subject of financial speculation and calculations may have been distasteful. (App. F F.)

XIV.

To ask a high place in the roll of fame for such a man is a grateful task; and what is here produced from his pen will, it is believed, confirm the judgment of his countrymen, who eagerly followed his guidance in an enterprise of great peril beyond sea; and who never blamed its author, although they were grievous sufferers by the disastrous results of that enterprise. His eminent qualities were crowned in him by the rarest of powers—the power of persuading men of absolutely opposed political principles to meet as on neutral ground, in order to carry out his great designs.

That such a man, who was once "illustrious" in the eyes of his countrymen, as his latest biographer justly designates him, should ever become an object of their pity, is indeed cause of reproach to the ministers who could have relieved him by the timely appropriation of that which was his simple due for services and sufferings.

The subsequent neglect of his writings by English readers is less surprising than that those writings should have ever fallen into oblivion in Scotland. Neither Dr. Hamilton, who opposed the modern Sinking Fund with no slight effect, nor Adam Smith, nor Dugald Stewart, seem to be aware of their existence.

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It is not pretended to explain this singular fact, and still less to impute it disrespectfully to those eminent men. Indeed their omission of all notice of these writings in their own on the same subjects, made the editor diffident of his high estimate of Paterson as an economical author; and he did not resolve to make the present collection without consulting those whose favourable judgment of their importance claims entire reliance.

In regard to the genuine worth of William Paterson's character, and the deep interest of his career, no doubt could be felt when the obscurities about the successive stages of his life were somewhat cleared up—the better he is known the more is he seen to be entitled to universal esteem. There are still, however, wide blanks in his biography to complete, and, as observed in the opening of this notice, the editor is sanguine in the belief that many memorials of him remain to be gathered from manuscript letters and unpublished diaries of his time, which the possessors may be disposed to communicate to a proper applicant.

The research into family stores and public collections of papers and books will be well repaid. The unsuspected gold of the Australias and California—the memorials of Nineveh so lately come to view—the more wonderful discoveries of science brought daily into familiar use—light, space, and intelligence gained with a facility and speed that surpass the powers of magic—all this falls short in political and moral value of what may come of such research, properly directed, into the historical materials accumulated in our public

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and private libraries, of which many are now only confused heaps of mouldy volumes, and few have the indispensable catalogues. Our very book-stalls are full of the like valuable and now perishing materials for the clearing up many uncertainties, and to throw light upon the character of great men, and upon the causes and issues of important events. In such places the editor has already met with great aids in the progress of his task. The bye-streets of London have contributed to them, and remote towns have been visited with advantage for the same object, so that the information wanted has been found in the most diverse localities—in public and private collections, in the old Bodleian at Oxford and the new Free Library at Manchester, with abundant stores in Edinburgh. A trace of Paterson's portrait with a manuscript was met in the Heber Catalogue, without, however, learning the name of the fortunate purchaser. Dumfrieshire, the land of his birth, is not the only field of tradition concerning him. In Westminster, where he died after a residence of twenty years, it is told with a probability of truth, that in the last century the example of "the great calculator" of Queen's Square, where he lived, used to be held up to the youth as an incentive to diligence in their studies. An eminent antiquary of London, Mr. George Chalmers, collected materials for his life so long ago as 1782, and then got an account from Edinburgh that his correspondent had spoken to an old man who recollected seeing Paterson in 1715, as might well have occurred.

The fiction of the old chest which has furnished the

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novelist with a starting-point, is but a shadow of the substantial intelligence to be had by diligent exploration and judicious choice of what many a family possesses almost unknowingly. The recent proofs of this are various and strong. The birth-place of Roger Williams, of Rhode Island, has been learned by consulting the memory of a clear-headed Welsh peasant, past his hundredth year, and thus was established, with the help of a manuscript in Cambridge, an interesting event of the beginning of the seventeenth century. The late Mr. Francis Baily has produced a work of great value upon the astronomer royal, John Flamstead, the rival of Sir Isaac Newton, from the contents of a box kept in a garret in London. Dr. Forster, of Brussels, has, in a volume of letters from Locke, Shaftesbury, and Algernon Sidney found in "a lumber room," furnished much light upon the opinions of some great men of Paterson's time. In a History of the Mediterranean Admiral Smyth has gone further still, and produced from the charts of the *middle ages* demonstration of facts lost to modern seamen, but familiar to the cautious navigators of that time, by proper attention to which we may save life and property. In the discursive field of family history, proof has been lately given, by the author of The Record of the House of Gournay, that the infinitely varied characters of eight hundred years may be restored in all their bearing upon national progress to which Paterson is there shewn to have much contributed. In the seventeenth century, in an individual case, that of Denys Papin, a French Protestant refugee and a distinguished member of the Royal Society, the late researches of a

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member of the Institute, M. de la Saussaye, promise a contribution of rare interest, and calculated to throw important light upon the use of steam-power. But The Gleanings from the Mountains of the Rev. Mr. Simpson, of Sanquhar, may perhaps assist the most materially to restore the details chiefly needed in Paterson's life, the events of his early days, when his mother trained him to the Covenanter's faith, and, it is said, encouraged his resort to the wild hill-meetings in Dumfrieshire, where the dragoons of Sergeant Bothwell hunted Balfour of Burley, and so nursed the gloomy thoughts which permitted the unhappy death of Archbishop Sharpe. Paterson had left Scotland before that event, but his mother was a warm friend to the persecuted ministers and their people. It is far from impossible that such recollections as Mr. Simpson has ingeniously called up may be appealed to with effect for the school-boy years of the founder of Darien, which is still dear to Scotland. Any pains would be cheaply bestowed to have a clear notion of the woman who sheltered Balfour of Burley from the pursuer, and who, after so training such a son, sent him forth a young exile, rather than he should deny their common faith. Nor would it be less interesting to learn if it be true, as is told, that returning wealthy from the West Indies, he placed his mother with her aged husband on his own farm near Windsor. The date of a letter from him to the Duke of Queensberry on the Union, shews him to have found himself some resting-place there. His father died at 100; a celebrated sister of Sir Hugh at 90; and John Paterson (the friend of Garrick), who reached 85, rebuked

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an impatient reversioner of a city post he held, by telling him the Patersons were a long-lived race; but trouble may have shortened the days of the subject of this notice. His familiar letters are spoken of, but few have yet been obtained, with some others upon public business. (App. G G.)

Upon these grounds the editor of the four following works of William Paterson submits them to the reader's judgment, with a sketch only of his life, intended to be a general vindication of his character, and an introduction to some better account of his career. He represents in his story, great things accomplished by himself in admirable perfection; and great designs capable of momentous issues so soon as statesmen are enabled, by the full comprehension of those designs, to execute his measures of national policy and social progress. His "Proposals of a Council of Trade,"—opening the following tracts,—are introduced by the reflections of a brave spirit, proudly bearing up against injustice done to his country and to himself, and finding uses in adversity calculated to deprive it of its worst stings. These reflections form a general lesson with which this sketch of the Life of Paterson may be fitly concluded; and to sever them from the "Proposals" will do no violence to the author's purpose of shewing how the troubles of life may improve national character as much as they are calculated to elevate individuals—a truth most forcibly exemplified in his own case.

"As trade generally taken and understood (he says) hath always been of great weight and consequence to governments and nations, so we may venture to affirm that

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within the last two ages it hath made greater alterations in these places of the world than the sword; since the importations of gold and silver have in that time been capable of advancing the price of the labour and industry of the trading countries in Christendom, and consequently of all things produced thereby, to at least eight times what they were before the year 1500. So that although the denominations be still continued, yet the eight pence of every nation in Europe is virtually and really reduced to one in so far as not recruited by fresh supplies at least of seven from those Indian mines.

"By this negative or comparative kind of destruction, it is that we see the northern and several other nations of Christendom wasted and consumed in proportion to their distance from, or want of access to, this fountain head, some whereof having suffered more by this mere attraction of gold and silver within this last two hundred years than by all the weight and impression of iron in those and many ages before.

"But what is still more, this consuming evil is so far from having near or quite spent itself as some have weakly and fondly imagined,—that it is still capable of making not only the like, but much greater alterations in the world than hitherto;—a demonstration of which, if due and speedy care be not taken, we of these nations may to our over great cost, and too dear bought conviction, happen to have in a very little time;—so that princes and states are not, now as formerly, only obliged to promote trade and industry for their advantage, but even in their defence,—not only for their benefit but also of necessity.

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"This nation hath felt more than its share of the effects of this negative or comparative kind of destruction, but especially since the removal of the seat of its government in the year 1603. For, so far as we can at present learn, instead of increasing in proportion to some of its neighbours, although the denominations may be somewhat advanced, it hath since that time really lost above a third part of its people,—and no less than sixteen in thirty of its other value about a hundred years ago,—the annual medium whereof may have been above 150,000*l.* sterling of the present denomination, and above 3,000 people yearly;—a great part of which dead loss hath been drawn to and centred in England as the seat of our government.

"Into this condition hath this nation been brought by this loose and irregular tie of the Union of the crowns;—a state, wherein we are not considered as subjects, nor allies, nor friends, nor enemies, but all of them, only when, where, how, and how long our task-masters please. To this we have been brought by that ignis fatuus, the gaiety and splendour of a court;—by the infatuation whereof the last generation, like intoxicated fishes and birds in a maze, were not only brought to be sick, but even to be in love with their disease.

"But however they were, or we may be still taken with it, this is the distemper whereof our late treatments are so far from being causes in themselves, that they were only effects and symptoms of it; the which violent symptoms, how uneasy soever to the patient for the time, yet have had this of advantage above others, that they have in some measure awakened and brought

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this nation to a sense of its disease. And it must needs be confessed that, considering the temper of this people, it is truly strange that all the disadvantages they have lain under, and the disdainful and disrespectful usage they have met with for near an age together, should never be able to bring them to any tolerable sense of their condition till now at last their task-masters came so very much to exceed those of Pharaoh; who, although indeed they would not allow the Israelites straw for the making of their bricks, yet do we not hear that ever they prohibited their gathering of stubble.

"But it is hoped this extremity will now produce another, by proving the happy occasion of convincing them, as well as us, of the injustice and inequality of our treatment, and how prejudicial it hath been, not only to the one but to both kingdoms, and consequently of producing such a future friendship as may be capable of regaining in the next age what hath been lost by the misunderstandings of this.

"Not only the ordinary dispatch and course, but even the more extraordinary heavy and surprising difficulties and disappointments, in business, do contribute exceeding to the making and qualifying of men; and, as they are naturally the ablest and most vigorous bodies which meet with the most and strongest exercises in their youth, so the best, bravest, and most capable spirits and geniuses have ever been formed and cultivated by difficulties; and not only the spirits of particular men, but likewise the greatest and bravest nations, and the most noble and famous designs that ever were, have been as it were begotten by necessity, and raised from the

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depth of difficulties. We see that with men who had a much more immediate hand of the Almighty upon them, even to such as Joseph, Moses, Gideon, David, and many others, the exercise of troubles, disappointments, and afflictions, was found to be indispensably necessary.

"And as we need not doubt but both the success and genius of the Romans, and other famous nations, have been chiefly owing to the nature, variety, and exercises of their difficulties, so we need not look abroad for particular instances; since our own histories are so ample in this matter, whereby we may find that all our greatest men, best things, bravest actions, and happiest times, have not only succeeded unto, but as it were sprung out of, some remarkable preceding disappointments, difficulties, calamities, or afflictions.

"But, although a great and capable genius be a kind of metal that can never be so well tempered as by and in the furnace of affliction, yet the meaner and more abject sort of spirits, instead of being better or further improved, are rather the more depressed and crushed thereby;—instead of growing more wise, prudent, patient, constant, careful, diligent, meek, and easy, in themselves and with others, they become more hardened, presumptuous, conceited, rash, unthinking, and uneasy, or otherwise more mean, abject, heedless, and stupid.

"As not a few of these last humours and dispositions have reigned in this nation for near an age, so it is hoped our late disappointments and difficulties may now have sufficiently awakened and made us sensible of our condition;—and that the many and various exercises we have lately met with, will have the better and not

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the contrary effect;—and prove only necessary preparatives, the better to fit the people of this kingdom for some glorious success to come;—to balance their spirits;—to bring them to a due decorum;—and thus the better to teach them not to despair in adversity, nor to presume in prosperity:—that after a lethargy of near an age they will now be effectually roused up;—and that on this occasion their sense and genius in matters of trade shall be capable of mounting somewhat higher than the aping a few of the worst, meanest, and most pernicious shifts and mistakes of some of our most trading neighbours;—that contrariwise our hearts will be enlarged in proportion to the weight and consequence of what we have in hand and the favourable occasions that offer at home and abroad;—that our maxims and principles in point of trade may be every way as reasonable and generous as were those of the Romans in point of empire;—that the national care and economy hereby proposed may be established;—that by the means thereof we may have the glory as well as the comfort of taking more care of the next generation than the last has done of us, and of putting our country in a way of regaining in the next century what it has lost in this."

It was in this brave spirit that Paterson, in 1700, met the blow inflicted upon his country and upon himself by the Darien disasters. The changes of 1701 gave fresh hopes, only to be frustrated by King William's death; and the fortitude he eulogised in others, was called forth in himself by the twenty years' trial, here too briefly described.

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The scene may be fitly closed by his Will, and by a sketch of some events following its execution:

"I, William Paterson, of the city of Westminster, esquire, being in good health of body and mind, for which I most humbly thank and praise Almighty God, the ever blessed Maker and Preserver of all, do make this my last will and testament. After my debts paid, I give to Elizabeth, my daughter-in-law, only child to my first wife Mrs. Elizabeth Turner, relict to the late Mr. Thomas Bridge, minister of the gospel in Boston, in New England, fifteen hundred pounds. 2°. I give to my eldest daughter-in-law Anne, by my second wife Mrs. Hannah Kemp, married to Mr. Samuel South, six hundred pounds. 3°. I give to my second daughter-in-law Mary, married to Mr. Mark Holman, six hundred pounds. 4°. I give to my two other daughters-in-law, Hannah and Elizabeth Kemp, eight hundred pounds each. 5°. I give to Jane Kemp, relict of the late Mr. James Kemp, my son-in-law, three hundred pounds. 6°. I give to William Mounsey, eldest son of my late sister Janet, two hundred pounds. 7°. I give to the two daughters of my said late sister Janet, Elizabeth and Janet, two hundred pounds each. 8°. I give to John Mounsey, younger son of my said late sister Janet, four hundred pounds. 9°. I give to my only sister Elizabeth, married to John Paterson younger of Kinharry, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, eight hundred pounds. 10°. I give the surplus of my estate, if, after payment of my debts, any such shall be, to be equally divided among the said persons, legatees, in proportion to every person's sum hereby bequeathed; all which

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sums above given, amounting to six thousand and four hundred pounds, I appoint to be paid by my executor here immediately after named. I do hereby appoint my good friend, Mr. Paul Daranda, of London, merchant, to whom I and my family are under very great obligations, sole executor of this my last will; and I do allow him, as my sole executor, one thousand pounds, for his care therein, over his expenses with relation hereto. Lastly, I revoke all other wills by me heretofore made. In witness whereof, I have here subscribed my name and put my seal, in Westminster, this first day of July, 1718, in the sixtieth year and third month of my age. WILLIAM PATERSON. Witnesses, ED. BAGSHAWE, HEN. DOLLAN, JOHN BUTLER." .

On the 3rd July, 1718, Paterson certified the making of this will "at the Ship Tavern without Temple Bar, about four in the afternoon."

XIV.

A painful uncertainty prevails as to Paterson's personal position from the execution of his will until his decease six months afterwards, in January, 1719. But the very few facts clearly ascertained respecting him, furnish materials for more than conjecture that these his latter days were full of anxiety, only to be explained by public events with which he was deeply concerned. The books of St. Margaret's Westminster have entries of his name for several years as one of the higher rate-payers in Queen Square, then the residence of Lord Derby, and other noblemen and wealthy people.

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In the summer this entry ceases; he had probably left London. In December the letter to the Secretary of State, Lord Stanhope, indicates distress of mind; it is written by another hand, whereas he usually is his own amanuensis. His will is entirely in his own writing. The signature of the letter, compared with those of 1694, 1699, and even that to the will, is strikingly feeble, like the hand of the sinking man. But its desponding tone cannot be accounted for merely by the unquestionable fact, that the equivalent fund upon which his indemnity of 18,000*l.* was charged, was now so dealt with by the Government as materially to reduce the value of that indemnity. It is plain indeed, from the amount of the legacies given by his will, that a very large portion of the money was appropriated to his debts; and it was a great mortification to see the residue reduced by the character of the security provided by the Treasury for its discharge. Yet he only shared with others a loss to which, from habit, he would be careless. There was however a fatal circumstance at that time of quite a different nature calculated severely to wound one of Paterson's deep convictions. This was the sure indication of the coming financial convulsion—the South Sea Bubble—which he could have averted; and which it is not rash to suppose he foresaw, although no positive trace of his busy pen has been detected in cotemporary pamphlets respecting its origin.

John Law was in this last half-year of 1718, fast securing a portentous ascendancy in France with his dangerous *system* of paper money, and his even more

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dangerous personal and political immorality. All this was envenomed by implacable hatred of England, easy to be explained by an accurate view of his story. He had now succeeded in misleading the French government, which he pretended to relieve from enormous debts. He had, at the same time, won the confidence of great men in London and Edinburgh in regard to his financial views; and, strange to say, he was laying the foundation of the ruin of the Earl of Stair, one of the ablest and most estimable of ambassadors, whom he could not deceive. These things were in rapid progress during the last few months of the life of Paterson, who must have witnessed them with deep concern. The main incidents attending the change of financial measures in Paris under Law's guidance are narrated in the journals of the day, and especially in such publications as the valuable "Historical Register" of the Sun Insurance Company.

Law's Scottish friends, under the protection of his mother's relation the Duke of Argyle, were actively promoting his interest in the North. In the South, measures were taken to obtain his pardon for the grave offence of his youth, which had caused his exile. His daughter's husband, Lord Wallingford, was soon promoted high in the army; and so distinguished a minister as Lord Stanhope, to whom Paterson's appeal is addressed, was completely inveigled by Law's arts. In the House of Commons, during this year, it was with difficulty that a resolution was got in favour of preserving the integrity of our standard of the coin, when the French were incurring the risk of great

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tumults by debasing theirs. The Aislabies, the Craggs, and the Blunts, were soon to be criminal victims of the South Sea bubble. Even Walpole partook of its profits, although clear of the crime. At the Treasury, Lowndes, who shared their views, and whose errors in finance were checked by Mr. Locke *and by Paterson*, thirty years before, was grown cautious, and he had just escaped the removal with which he seems to have been properly threatened at the accession of King George. In fact the "violent party," mentioned by Paterson in his memorial of March, 1714-15, as his opponents, and who were the opponents of his great financial reforms, had recovered power. He was not only the object of their unscrupulous intriguing, but his perception of the impolicy of the system they were hurrying into, overwhelmed him so much the more, that he felt himself no longer able to expose their errors, and effectually advocate the public interests.

The decease of "William Paterson, Esquire," in January, 1719, is recorded in the Historical Register—and in another journal the event is stated with the addition that he had been famous for his skill in calculation, without having greatly enriched himself—a description which, with his will and the probate, identifies the person so described with the subject of this memoir.

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PROPOSALS

OF

A COUNCIL OF TRADE.

(Edinburgh, 12mo. 1701, first ed. pp. 120.)

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THIS tract was originally printed in Edinburgh in 1700, when the extreme discontents at the failure of the Darien settlement had somewhat abated. The objects of the work were of a character to meet the critical state of affairs in Scotland, and, by offering reasonable hope of retrieving the losses incurred by that failure, to restore public tranquillity and encourage exertion. It proposed a system of social progress that would promote the welfare of Scotland at home, as the great American enterprise was to have enriched the nation from abroad. It embraced a wide circle of interests, and aimed at raising the people's condition intellectually, as well as morally and materially. The council planned was substantially adopted by the Scottish parliament, but it merged at the Union into the general privy council, of which some of its members became members. The fisheries advocated were established. The most important object of universal education, and the substitution of industrial penitentiaries for delinquents in the place of the common prisons and other punishments, are not yet completely established. In these points, as in some others, William Paterson was not only in advance of his own times, but also of ours. In the Carstares' Papers "Paterson's Scheme of Trade" is expressly noticed in the same year, 1700, in terms closely applicable to the "Proposals of a Council of Trade," leaving no doubt of the identity of the productions, and consequently proving Paterson to have written "the Proposals."

In a letter of the 3rd Sept. 1700, from J. Stewart to Mr. Carstares, King William's confidential secretary, headed "*a new project on foot for trade*," the writer, after discussing the good prospects of tranquillity on the Darien discontents, says, "The hearts of all good countrymen (patriots) are bent upon an union with England. . . . . They have projectors now at work making plans and schemes of trade. I have seen the construction of some. The design is a national trade, so that by it all Scotland will become one entire company of merchants. It proposes a fund of credit by which in two years to raise above 300,000*l.* sterling. With this stock they are—first, to trade to both the Indies, and settle colonies on the terms of the Act establishing their company; second, to raise manufactories throughout all the kingdom; third, to pursue their fishery to greater profit in all the markets of Europe than any other fishing company in Christendom can do; fourth, to employ all the poor in the nation, so that in two years there shall not be one beggar seen in all the kingdom, and that without any act of slavery; fifth, to pay back to any of the subscribers to the African stock his money, if demanded, so that nobody can complain of any loss that way. (App. II.)

"The powers and Act of Parliament they are to demand for doing this mighty work are too long to write, but if I thought you had either curiosity or time to read them I should not spare any pains. Adieu."*

* Carstares, p. 633.

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A second letter of the 14th September is as follows, being headed—

"Paterson's Scheme of Trade.

"I know not what Thom. Dean's opinion is of the project I have writ. But I find Mr. Francis Grant has as little hope that it will take as I have. Mr. Paterson is very tenacious and stiff, and indeed he has a good genius. With much ado I have broke him as to his opinion of demanding the tenth boll. I find him extremely straitened how to do without it, for this branch of trading in grain and corn is indeed a mighty project. That which he says he must demand in place of it I am afraid will never be granted, so there is little hope of the whole. It is eight months' cess for twenty years, which he pretends to prove to the parliament is no more burden to the country than what they must bear. However if this project do not go on, even suppose they paid no cess at all for this season, he will prove that the maintenance of the poor costs this nation yearly four months' cess, which, being a dead weight, not only loses itself in specie, but its value for want of improvement, which is the double. So this project, employing all the poor, does exactly balance the eight months' cess.

"These notions are very metaphysical and thin, and though I am fool enough to be persuaded that they are not only true but practicable, yet I am afraid he will find it no easy matter to persuade the parliament to give eight months' cess for twenty years, and at the same time persuade them they pay no more than if they gave no cess at all.

"Then, as to his Council of Trade, I know not how it is safe for the king to constitute such an office or jurisdiction. It is true twelve angels might be well enough trusted with powers that are absolutely necessary for them to have, but they are too much for men. While they act in concert with the African Company, and it is impossible they can have different interests, they are too powerful even for the king. They are in a manner a committee of parliament constantly sitting, and will be able to determine any parliament ever shall be. They have all the strength and treasure of the kingdom in their hands. In short, nothing but time and experience can tell what the consequences of such a constitution may be, so I have no manner of hope that the project will take. But I still think it fit to encourage the projector who, indeed, has a prodigious genius and a vast extended thought, to go on —Valeat quantum valere potest. It is possible the wisdom of parliament may cull out some things of use to the country, and a means to accommodate matters betwixt the king and the people."*

A few days later, 21st Sept. Mr. Stewart writes again "of Paterson's projects:"—"Since my last of the 14th I have seen Mr. Paterson's projects in mundis, which is nothing like what I wrote to you of in mine of the 7th. I know not what alterations he may yet make in it, for I cannot believe the Commissioner will let it be published as it now is, because, to confess the truth, it is far from safe for the king to establish that Council of Trade; and,

* Carstares, p. 645.

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though he should do so, I think the parliament will never grant the funds he demands."*

At the same date the Duke of Queensberry, the Royal Commissioner, reported, "That Mr. Paterson, the first person that brought the people of Scotland into the project of Caledonia, was writing such things as it was hoped might create some temper (of moderation) among them. He has promised (adds his Grace) to shew these writings to him before they appeared to any other person." †

Copies of the *Edinburgh* edition are rare. One was in the library of Lord Alva, a Scottish judge of the last century, and it is marked as "by Mr. Paterson." The foregoing letters remained in MS. long after the Glasgow edition of "The *Proposals*" in Law's name, in 1751, from which time no question has been made as to their true authorship. They have ever been confounded with Law's "*Money and Trade*" of 1705, although they treat solely of political and social institutions, without one word of currency, either in specie or paper; and that tract is substantially a scheme of inconvertible paper currency. "The *Proposals*," too, were extensively adopted by the Scottish Parliament at the time; and either accepted in a material degree by the United Parliament, or they became subjects of anxious Parliamentary discussion, with scarcely any intermission, to the present day. On the contrary, the object of "Money and Trade" was declared by the Scottish Parliament as one to be unsuited to Scotland. The error originating with the Glasgow edition of 1751, was strangely sanctioned by Dugald Stewart, in the notes to his Essay on Dr. Adam Smith. (Smith's Works, 8vo. vol. v. p. 548.—App. JJ). Nevertheless the two works are as widely different in their objects, and their style of composition, as the two men, Paterson and Law, differed in their character and their lives.

The *Proposals* possess another peculiarity, strongly distinguishing their purpose from the analogous speculations of Fletcher of Saltoun, one of the numerous friends of Paterson. In the celebrated scheme of that sincere and able man for the improvement of Scotland, the destitute condition of her labouring people is eloquently stated; and Fletcher had no better remedy to suggest than to compel his countrymen to become industrious by the fear of the lash, and by actual slavery. Paterson trusted to other influences, clearly alluding to his friend's unlucky scheme (p. 89 below). It is perhaps this portion of The *Proposals* that will at present be thought the most interesting. It places the management of offenders upon a footing that improves upon all that the most enlightened of modern prison-reformers advocate; and justifies humane discipline by the most convincing arguments.

As the work opened with the eloquent consolatory address with which the editor's biographical notes have been closed, it concludes with an earnest appeal to the good sense of the Scottish nation, conceived in the wisest spirit, and singularly suited to the temper of the people at the time. The result is believed to have been highly favourable, and gives to the work an important historical character.

* Carstares, p. 655. † Ib. p. 584.

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PROPOSALS AND REASONS

FOR

CONSTITUTING A COUNCIL OF TRADE.

EDINBURGH: 1701.

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PROPOSALS AND REASONS

FOR

CONSTITUTING A COUNCIL OF TRADE.

Proposal I.—Of a Council of Trade.

Since upon due consideration it will be found impossible to put the home and foreign industry of this kingdom upon a solid or steady foot of future improvement, by any other means than a national Council of Trade, adapted to this very thing, and to be clothed with power and means proportionable to the greatness of the work,—it is therefore proposed:—

Article 1. That a council of trade and court merchant, consisting of a president, to be annually appointed by his Majesty; and of twelve councillors, three whereof to be chosen by the estate of nobility, three by the estate of barons, three by the estate of boroughs, and three by the council general of the Indian and African Company, may be constituted by Parliament.

2. That only such of the nobility, barons, and boroughs, as are or shall be members of Parliament, and capable to sit in Parliament, may be qualified to vote or have suffrage in elections of councillors of trade; and that in the intervals between the dissolution of one Parliament and the election of another, the members of the preceding Parliament may always be the electors.

3. That the major part of the respective estates of nobility, barons, boroughs, and of the council-general of the Indian and African Company (and not fewer), may make a quorum at the first and every such election; and that no absent votes may be admitted.

4. That the said respective classes or colleges of election may

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not at any time choose one of their number to be councillor of trade, unless two-thirds at least of the electors do concur in the choice; but that otherwise the several elections may be made by majority of votes, to be taken by scroll and scrutiny.

5. That no president of the council of trade may continue such for longer than a year; and that one in every three of the councillors of trade may be annually left out, and others chosen in their place and room by their respective constituents, the days and place of meeting to be appointed by the council of trade: and that such vacancies as may happen in the said council of trade by death or other means, may likewise be filled up by their respective constituents from time to time.

6. That it may be strictly recommended and enjoined by his Majesty and the Estates of Parliament, that the persons who shall be nominated or chosen for president and councillors of trade from time to time, may be men of truth, courage, and of known and approved integrity, and good morals, not covetous, mean-spirited, or of narrow dispositions, but endued with a reasonable measure of understanding and largeness of heart, without which no man ever yet was or indeed possibly can be so much as tolerably fit for a public employment or trust. And that they may likewise be such as fundamentally at least understand arithmetic and accounts, and who have an inclination and genius for the knowledge and study of matters relating to trade and improvements, and who are unwearied in their industry and application.

7. That any six of the council of trade, together with their president, may make a quorum, or that eight of the council may make a quorum without him; wherein they shall proceed by majority of votes, and the president shall only have a casting vote.

8. That the president and councillors of trade, or any of them for the time they are such, may be incapable of holding any place of profit or trust in the Government, or of receiving any pension, gift, or honour of his Majesty; but that their time and

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thoughts may be wholly employed and taken up as councillors of trade, without having or being capable of any other office, place, or dependence whatsoever.

9. That the president and council of trade may be accountable for their receipts, payments, and all their other proceedings from time to time to his Majesty and the Estates of Parliament; wherein if they or any of them shall be found guilty of wilful injustice, fraud, or apparent breach of trust, or of wilful embezzling, misapplying, or diverting any part of the moneys or national fund entrusted to them, that the offender or offenders therein may forfeit triple the sum or sums so misapplied or diverted, and become for ever after incapable of prosecuting any suit of law,—or of being tutor or curator to any child,—or an executor or administrator,—or to receive any legacy or gift,—or to make any disposition, last will, or testament,—or to hold any office or place of trust or profit in this kingdom. And that his Majesty will be pleased graciously to condescend and consent, that no part of this punishment may be pardoned or remitted by his Majesty, his heirs or successors, without advice and consent of Parliament.

10. That, before they enter upon their respective trusts or administration, the president and councillors of trade may be obliged to make the oath of allegiance, and a solemn oath for the just, due, diligent and faithful discharge of their respective duties and trusts.

Proposal II.—Of the Fund of the Council of Trade.

The more effectually to enable the council of trade to recover, retrieve, promote and carry on the home and foreign trade of this kingdom.

Article 1. That a duty of one fortieth part of the value of all lands, rents, houses, money, goods, or effects whatsoever that any one shall succeed unto by law, provision, testament, or otherwise, lands and rents, to be reckoned at twenty years' purchase, houses and other things in proportion to the repairs,

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risks, damages by fire, and other defalcations, may be granted to the said council of trade for and during the term of twenty years.

2. That there be likewise granted to the said council of trade one-fortieth part of the price or value of all lands, rents, houses, or ships sold or alienated; and likewise of all other effects that shall be sold by public roup in this kingdom for the said term of twenty years.

3. That there be also a duty of one-fortieth part of the value of all manufactures to be made in this kingdom, as likewise of all fish salted or cured, paid to the said council of trade in consideration of their mark, seal, or other approbation to the goodness and sufficiency thereof, for and during the said term of twenty years.

4. That the late bishops' lands, rents, and incomes, the General Post Office, the waste lands and casual revenues of the crown, together with all fines, forfeitures, and penalties accruing to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, be also granted to the said council of trade for the said term of twenty years.

5. That one-twentieth part of the grounds of or sums sued for in all processes or suits of law, or the value where the same shall not be in money, be, by the party or parties who shall be found liable in expenses, paid to the said council of trade for the said term of twenty years.

6. That all gifts, charities, and mortifications already given or to be given and appropriated to the poor, or for charitable uses, be for ever hereafter received, supervised, ordered, and applied by the council of trade.

7. That one-tenth part of all wheat, rye, pease, barley, bear, malt, and oats consumed within this kingdom, be likewise allowed to the said council of trade for the term of twenty years; but that it be always at the election of the parties concerned to give and pay the said tenths in good and sufficient corn of the several sorts respectively, or as an equivalent to pay the following rates in money (that is to say): wheat at the rate

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of 30*d.* sterling per boll; rye and pease at 18*d.*; barley, bear, and malt at 15*d.*; and oats at 10*d.* sterling per boll.

8. That the said duties on corn may be collected at the respective kilns and mills of this kingdom at the election of the council of trade; and that all persons may be obliged to bring their corn that is to be made in meal or malt to the public kilns and mills; or otherwise compound for having the same ground at home by hand-mills or otherwise at the discretion of the said council of trade; and that deduction or allowance for this tenth share or duty may be made to all persons who are obliged to pay corn, after the same shall be made into meal or malt, by former contract.

9. That over and above the said duties, impositions, gifts, and incomes, the ward-holdings belonging to his Majesty may be vested in the said council of trade, to be by them sold to the best advantage; and the sums raised thereby added to the before-mentioned duties, provided always that the respective vassals may have the pre-emption.

10. That a sum not exceeding the sum of 1,000,000*l.* sterling may, by way of anticipation, be taken up and borrowed by the said council of trade upon the credit and security of the said several funds.

11. That this fund, or any obligations, assignments, or anticipations thereupon, may not be liable to any confiscation, seizure, forfeiture, attachment, arrest, restraint, or prohibition for or by reason of any embargo, breach of the peace, letters of marque or reprisal, or declaration of war with any foreign prince, potentate, or state, or upon any other account or pretence whatsoever.

Proposal III.—Application of the Fund of the Council of Trade.

That the said fund to be granted to the council of trade be ordered and applied in the following manner:—

Article 1. That the sum of 400,000*l.* sterling, part of the said

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fund, be given, allowed, and appropriated to promote and carry on the foreign trade of this kingdom in the following manner: that in the first place so much thereof as shall be necessary for that purpose may be given and applied to repay the proprietors of the Indian and African Company the sum they have advanced, lost, and expended in prosecuting their designs of foreign trade;—and that the remainder of the said sum of four hundred thousand pounds sterling be added and put into the joint stock and capital fund of the said African and Indian Company, for the use and at the disposal of the council of trade, but under the management and direction of the court of directors, and the care and inspection of the council-general of the said company.

2. That the proprietors of the said Indian and African Company, or any of them, from a day to be appointed, have liberty on demand to withdraw or receive back their principal money out of the said joint stock upon their assignment, or transferring their right to the council of trade, or their appointment;—so as the principal money paid in by particular proprietors in the capital fund of the said company may from thenceforward be at and upon the risk of the kingdom, and only that of the interest or forbearance at that of the particular proprietors thereof;—but, so as it be always understood that the stock which shall once belong unto, or be transferred to the council of trade, may not from thenceforward be retransferred or alienated to the first proprietors, or any other, but remain as part of the national fund vested in the said council of trade, as the trustees thereof.

3. That a sum of four thousand two hundred pounds sterling per annum, other part of the said fund in the hand and management of the council of trade, be set apart and appropriated for salaries to the president and the rest of the members of the said council of trade, at the rate of six hundred pounds sterling per annum for the president, and three hundred pounds sterling per man for the rest of the councillors, over and above their

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travelling charges, postage of letters, and such like expenses;—but, that the same be only allowed them in proportion to their attendance, and the part of the salaries belonging to the absentees to be always divided amongst those who shall be present and attending:—provided, nevertheless, that the council of trade may from time to time fine or otherwise proceed against any of their members for non-attendance, as they shall see cause, over and above the stopping and dividing his or their salaries for every default.

4. That the council of trade may likewise, out of the fund in their hands, pay the expenses of the respective electors of the said council, at their several yearly meetings for that purpose, at the rate of twelve pence sterling per mile, forward and backward, from and to the places of their abode, to all such of them as shall have their dwellings above twenty miles from the city of Edinburgh, or place of meeting; and likewise ten shillings sterling per man per day to every one of the electors, for not above six days, to be allowed for any one election.

5. That the sum of two thousand pounds sterling per annum may be, by the directors of the Indian and African Company, bestowed upon allowances for the attendance of their courts of directors, council-general, and committees, over and above their travelling charges, postage of letters, and such like expenses;—and that such attendance may be the more regular, and the company the better and the more diligently served, the council-general of the said company shall and may reduce the present number of the court of directors to that of twenty, but the number of the members of the council-general may still remain at that of forty, to be chosen equally by the persons or parties concerned in the fund;—in which the council of trade to choose in proportion to the national stock they represent from time to time;—and that one in every four of the directors may be left out yearly, and others chosen in their place and stead by the said council-general;—and that the court of directors, or council-general, be likewise empowered to fine or otherwise

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proceed against any of their members, besides the stopping and dividing their respective allowances in proportion to their non-attendance.

6. That the remainder of the moneys that shall or may arise by the said several funds, whether the same shall come by anticipation or otherwise, be applied and employed by the council of trade, agreeably and pursuant to the following powers and instructions.

Proposal IV.—General Powers and Instructions of the Council of Trade.

Article 1.—That the said council, by the name of the Council of Trade of the Kingdom of Scotland, may have the powers, immunities, and privileges of a body politic and corporate, with perpetual succession, have a common seal, and, for and on behalf of this kingdom, power to purchase and alienate lands, tenements, and other goods or effects whatsoever, to administer oaths, and to do and execute everything that to a body politic or corporate do or ought to belong; and likewise to have and execute all the powers of admiralty and of a court-merchant of this kingdom; and by themselves, or others deputed by them, to hear and determine all causes and things relating to trade, or of the sea, between the king's majesty, his heirs, and successors, and the merchants or mariners, and also between or relating to merchants or mariners; and to judge therein by the law-merchant and that of the sea, as known and practised in the most considerable trading countries and cities of Christendom; and that no other court or council of this nation may for the future have power to judge or take cognizance of matters of or relating to trade or of the sea.

2. To have power under their seal to delegate and appoint such other person or persons as they see meet, to judge and determine in matters and things of or relating to trade and the sea, in any of the ports or places in this kingdom: provided always, that an appeal may lie to the said council of trade, or

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court-merchant, in all causes where the matter in question shall be of the value of one hundred pounds sterling or upwards,—to appoint, regulate, and settle the fees of advocates, clerks, or other officers belonging to things in their jurisdiction, and generally to have all the privileges and powers of a court of judicature and record of this kingdom.

3. That the council of trade may be empowered to purchase or build workhouses; and likewise to purchase and procure all other means and materials for employing, relieving, and maintaining the poor; and for encouraging, promoting, and increasing the manufactories and fisheries of this kingdom; to build and erect granaries for the well-keeping of stores and quantities of corn in all such places of this kingdom as they shall judge necessary; and from time to time to buy up and keep at a regular rate the several growths and manufactures of this kingdom, so as the poor in particular may not be imposed upon nor oppressed by extreme cheapness or want of money for their work on the one hand, nor the nation in general by extreme dearth on the other.

4. To have power to add unto or allow ten per cent., or such other proportion as they shall see just and needful, to the joint-stocks of all companies or societies for manufactures, and to all ships, equipages, and vessels employed or to be employed in the fishings of this kingdom, without expectation of interest or dividend; but to have security for repayment of the principal money when the respective parties concerned shall divide or withdraw such joint stocks, or shall cease any more to employ such ship or ships, vessel or vessels, in the fisheries; and generally to give and grant such other encouragements, gratuities, and rewards, as they shall think requisite for and towards the promoting and enlarging the trade and industry of this kingdom.

5. That the said council of trade may not only be the general receivers and appliers of the charity of this kingdom, but that they may also give, grant, and bestow such charitable gifts and allowances as they shall see needful from time to time. That

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they may be empowered to correct and suppress nuisances; to make, erect, regulate, mend, repair, or maintain highways, streets, bridges, harbours, docks, and wharfs for shipping, boats, or vessels, or any other public works or conveniences whatsoever.

6. That it be declared, that the criminal judges have power to change the punishment of death in cases of theft to the payment of fourfold—one half to the party injured, and the other to the council of trade; and to be condemned to hard labour for the space of three years, or otherwise, if he, she, or they have not to satisfy for the theft;—that then, and in proportion to the nature of the crime or damage done, such thief or thieves may be further condemned to hard labour for any time, not exceeding six years more; and during either or both these terms to be under the direction and at the disposal of the council of trade.

7. That all bribery, cheating or designed cheating, wilful bankruptcy and fraud, may be tried, judged, and determined by the council of trade, and by them be punished as theft;—but that contrariwise, if, upon legal summons or demand, a debtor shall justly and faithfully deliver and assign over to the use of his or her creditor or creditors all his or her estate, goods, effects, books, papers, and accounts—and that if it does appear that such debtor hath or doth design to be just and honest to the best of his or her power, such debtor may by the council of trade be from thenceforward discharged from imprisonment or other personal confinement.

8. That the council of trade may likewise have power to seize and compel all such persons as shall be found begging, and under the age of twenty years, to work until they shall come to be of the age of twenty-three years,—and all such as shall be of the age of twenty years or upwards for the space of three years,—and all sorts of vagabonds or idle persons for a reasonable proportion of time, according to the nature of their several offences;—and that all such persons as shall stand condemned or compelled to work at the public works may, by the council of trade, be employed at home or abroad, by sea or by

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land, or their persons and services may be transferred, assigned, or disposed of to others, at the discretion of the said council of trade.

9. That they may be specially empowered to regulate and reduce to an equality all weights and measures, and likewise to punish all frauds and cheats therein, or in the making up or vending the growths, manufactures, or fishings of this kingdom; and likewise to oblige the parties concerned to pay the fortieth part of the value for regulation; and, if need be, to take the council's mark or seal upon such goods and commodities, upon forfeiture of such commodities, and the value thereof, the one-half to the informer and the other to the council of trade; and that they also may be empowered to allow a share of not exceeding one moiety of the fines, forfeitures, and penalties to all other informers, in any case or cases whatsoever.

10. That the said council of trade may have full power to take off and publicly dispense with all such restraints and prohibitions, monopolies, pre-emptions, or exclusions, whether made, imposed, or granted by Act of Parliament, or otherwise, as they shall from time to time judge prejudicial to the improvement or progress of the trade or industry of this kingdom, always giving just and reasonable satisfaction to the persons or societies interested or concerned as the case shall require.

11. To have power to lay on, impose, collect, and receive such duties and impositions as they shall see meet upon all such foreign fishing ships, boats, or vessels, as shall from time to time come to an anchor in any of the creeks, bays, harbours, or places in this kingdom, or the islands thereunto belonging.

12. To be empowered to nominate and appoint consuls, residents, or agents, to reside in any such foreign cities or nations as they may judge meet and convenient; and that, by the advice and at the request of the said council of trade, his Majesty, his heirs and successors, will from time to time be pleased graciously to grant suitable commissions and instructions to such consuls, residents, or agents; and that they may

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have all the powers, privileges, and advantages, which are usually allowed to consuls, residents, or agents of other nations.

13. That all foreigners who are Protestants, and all merchants or others of the Jewish nation, who shall come to inhabit in this kingdom, upon their taking the oath of allegiance,—or, upon scruple of taking of oaths, their making an equivalent declaration to be true and faithful to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, before the council of trade, or such as shall be deputed by them, and their payment of the sum of twenty shillings sterling to have the same recorded,—may have liberty to purchase lands, rents, or hereditaments, and enjoy all other privileges of his Majesty's natural-born subjects: and likewise, for their further encouragement, that they may be free of all manner of taxes for the first seven years of their abode in this nation; and that the council of trade may be empowered to grant and allow reasonable and convenient stipends to all such foreign Protestant ministers as shall come to have a congregation to which twenty or more adult persons shall or may belong; provided, nevertheless, that none of the said foreigners so naturalised may settle to inhabit in any of the islands, but only upon the main continent of this kingdom, without express licence and permission of the council of trade.

14. That the coinage of gold and silver at his Majesty's mint may for the future be free, and without any manner of abatement, expense, or allowance by or from the proprietors thereof; and that all such moneys as are now current, and in weight, fineness, or both, under the standard of this kingdom, may be called in and recoined; and that no moneys may from henceforward be current in this kingdom but as correspondent to the standard thereof in weight and fineness; and that the weight, fineness, or denominations of the money of this kingdom may not hereafter be altered without advice and consent of Parliament; and that the general direction and inspection of the mint may be committed to the council of trade.

15. That no mine or mineral in this kingdom may be

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accounted a royal mine unless there be plainly a much greater value of gold or silver to be extracted therefrom than of any other metal; and that only a tenth part of the royal mines may for the future go to and belong to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and the rest to belong and remain to the proprietor or proprietors of the soil; and that the improvement of the mines and minerals of this kingdom be in a particular manner recommended to the care and inspection of the council of trade.

16. That the council of trade may have power to take into their service and pay all such officers and servants as they shall and may from time to time judge needful, and to make and execute all necessary rules, orders, and ordinances for the better ordering and management of all such persons and things as shall be in or subject to their service, pay, care, trust, or direction.

17. That they may from time to time think and consider of all such laws, customs, orders, and usages as they may judge prejudicial to the trade and industry of this nation, together with such proposals and regulations as they shall think may be advantageous thereunto, and report the same, as well as their other proceedings and progress, to his Majesty and the Estates of this kingdom, as their constituents, at every meeting of Parliament.

Proposal V.—Of Customs and Impositions on Foreign Trade.

And since, in order to the making way for the growth of trade and the progress of the industry of this kingdom, it will be absolutely necessary that the weight of the present duties and impositions on foreign trade should be partly removed, and partly otherwise disposed and regulated; in order to which it is proposed,—

Article 1st. That all manner of duties or impositions on growths, products, goods, or other merchandises to be exported from any the ports or places of this kingdom, may be taken off,

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excepting one per cent. of the value, by the name of entry-money, only.

2. That all such growths and products of other countries as are and shall be proper to be manufactured or meliorated in this kingdom, may be freely imported without paying any duty excepting only one per cent. of the value by the name of entry-money.

3. That the present duties and impositions on all manner of foreign liquors and commodities not fit to be manufactured or meliorated in this kingdom, among which sugar and tobacco may be reckoned, may be doubled; but in order to lay the same as much as possible by way of excise or upon the consumption, and as little upon the merchant and navigation as may be, that there may be a term of twelve months at least given to the merchants or other importers, who shall give security for the payment of the duty or the exportation thereof within the limited term, always allowing and paying one per cent. of the value by the name of entry-money.

4. That a discount at the rate of ten per cent. per annum may be allowed to the merchants or other importers who shall pay in the duty for goods imported before it shall become due, deducting always one per cent. of the value by the name of entry-money.

5. That, excepting only the aforesaid duties, the trade, navigation, shipping, and fishings of this nation may be discharged of and be for ever free of all manner of duties and impositions due and payable to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, or any other whatsoever: provided always, that the council of trade may from time to time settle, regulate, and appoint all such rates as ships or vessels shall pay for lighthouses and pilotage, and likewise appoint and settle all such rates as shall be paid for wharfage or other shore dues in the several places of this kingdom.

6. That the present farm or tack of the customs be broken, and that the said impositions of foreign excise and entry-money

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may never hereafter be leased out, or let to farm, without the advice and consent of Parliament.

PROPOSAL VI.—ON THE PROTECTION OF FOREIGN TRADE.

And whereas it has ever been the practice of the best regulated and most considerable trading nations to grant the duties upon exportations and importations, shipping and navigation, only in consideration and towards the protection of foreign trade; and since by this union of the crowns, and therewith the removal of the imperial seat of the government, this kingdom has been, and still continues to be, deprived of its strength at sea, and other ordinary means of protecting and supporting the trade and navigation thereof: Wherefore, and for the more effectual securing of the trade and industry of this nation from prejudices and discouragements from foreigners and foreign influence in time to come, it is proposed that the foresaid foreign excise or duties upon exportation, importation, and entry-money, may by Parliament be established, and from henceforward understood to be a fund of security for the foreign trade of this kingdom, in the following manner and to the purposes after mentioned:—

Article 1. That his Majesty will be graciously pleased to declare and consent in Parliament that all ambassadors, envoys, residents, consuls, or agents of his Majesty, his heirs or successors, shall from henceforward own, countenance, and forward the just and lawful treaties or designs of trade of the Indian and African Company, or of any particular society, merchant, or person of or belonging to this kingdom; and that if, contrary to all just and reasonable expectation, any such ambassadors, envoys, residents, consuls, or agents, shall upon or under pretence of order or warrant from his Majesty, his heirs or successors, secretly or avowedly presume to let or anywise discountenance or impede the trade, treaties of trade or commerce of the Indian and African Company, or of any society, merchant, or other person of or belonging to this kingdom;

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that then and in every such case, upon due proof thereof to the council of trade, the sum of 500*l.* sterling, besides full costs, charges, and damages, may be recovered out of the said fund of security for foreign trade by the party or parties injured respectively.

2. In case any commander or commanders of ship or ships belonging unto or commissioned by his Majesty, his heirs or successors, as kings or queens of England, shall from henceforward come forcibly to take any goods, merchandises, or persons from on board of any ship or ships of or belonging to this kingdom, whether at sea or in any bay, harbour, or creek (excepting only such bays, harbours, or creeks as doth or may belong to the kingdom of England or the dominions thereof), or shall stop or hinder any such ship or ships, vessel or vessels, from proceeding on her or their voyage by the space of twenty-four hours or more,—that then the party or parties, owners of such ship or ships, vessel or vessels, his, her, or their appointment may recover the sum of 500*l.* sterling, beside all expenses, charges, and damages. And that likewise every person pressed, or forcibly taken and detained out of any such ship by the space of one whole week or more, his, her, or their appointment may recover the sum of 100*l.* sterling, besides all expenses, damages, and costs of suit, all to be paid out of the said fund of security for foreign trade.

3. If any commander of ship or ships belonging unto or commissioned by his Majesty, his heirs or successors, as kings or queens of England, shall hereafter presume to press or forcibly to take away any Scotch seaman out of any Scotch ship, or out of those of any other nation (excepting only those belonging to England and the dominions thereof), whether at sea, in harbour, or in foreign parts, every such person so pressed, his executors, administrators, or assigns, may recover and receive the sum of 100*l.* sterling out of the said fund for security of foreign trade, besides all damages, expenses, and costs of suit.

4. If any commander or commanders of ships, vessels, or

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persons, by or under pretext of commission or warrant from his Majesty, his heirs or successors, as kings or queens of England, shall come hereafter to attack, stop, detain, or use any violence to any ship or ships or vessels upon the coasts, and bound to or from or in any of the creeks, harbours, or places of this kingdom, or to take or seize any of the goods, effects, or persons therein embarked, or shall forcibly take or detain any goods, effects, or persons from the shore; that then and in every such case the several party or parties injured, may from time to time receive full costs, charges, damages, and expenses of suit, together with the sum of 100*l.* sterling, out of the said fund for security of foreign trade.

5. That the said several sums, costs, damages, and expenses may, from time to time, be recovered by the parties injured, or their appointment, upon due proof made thereof to the council of trade; and that, upon the certification of the decrees of the council thereupon, the said respective sums be paid and allowed out of the said fund for security of foreign trade by the Lord High Treasurer or the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury of this kingdom. And that it may be further provided, that the said foreign excise and entry money may in this manner be and remain a fund of security for the foreign trade and industry of this kingdom, as often and as long as the same shall be continued to the heirs and successors of his Majesty.

6. That his Majesty and the Estates of Parliament, as the general and supreme guardians of the trade and industry of this kingdom, may consent and for the future become engaged to cause satisfaction to be made to the Indian and African Company, those who are or may be associated with, commissioned, or permitted by them, and to any other merchants of or belonging to this kingdom, in case they or any of them shall from henceforward happen to be wronged or injured by any princes, states, or potentates in amity with his Majesty; and that inquiry may be made of all such damages and injuries in order to repair the several losses of the party or parties concerned;

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and thereupon to state, demand, and procure national satisfaction, at every meeting and sitting of Parliament.

7. When any matter of doubt shall happen to be between his Majesty and the Indian and African Company, or any merchants or mariners of or belonging to this kingdom, that the council of trade may explain everything beneficially and favourably for the said company, merchants, and mariners.

8. That all Acts of Parliament, customs, usages, or orders of this kingdom, in so far as they or any of them are or shall be found contrary or not consonant to all or any of the beforegoing proposals or articles, may be repealed, annulled, and declared void.

Proposal VII.—Of His Majesty's Revenue.

But since it may be objected, on behalf of his Majesty, that some of the foregoing proposals may tend to the lessening the hereditary and temporary revenues of the crown, I shall in the first place endeavour to clear some points wherein the stress of such objections may seem most to lie, and afterwards proceed to the proposing an expedient capable of solving whatever may seem doubtful in this matter.

Although the proposed alterations in the customs or foreign excise may, in the beginning, and before things be fully settled, come somewhat to lessen that revenue; yet certainly the doubling the impositions on such foreign growths and manufactures as shall be consumed in this nation, together with the increase of shipping and navigation, which it is hoped will be the effect of these regulations, may not only be capable of compensating such first loss, if any there be, but of raising this revenue in a very few years to near, if not quite, double what it yields at this day: nor can the several incumbrances laid upon this fund for the protection and security of foreign trade be looked upon as any considerable impediment to this increase; since it would be hardly just or reasonable to suppose that any such infractions as are provided against should be made at all, or at least

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above once in an age; and thus, as in the first design thereof, these incumbrances will doubtless rather prove a reasonable and steady security to his subjects than any very real or sensible loss to his Majesty.

Were things to continue upon the present foot, the duty proposed to be laid on malt might probably be some, although but a very small, disadvantage to his Majesty's revenue of home or inland excise; but, as the matter is designed, this revenue, instead of receiving any manner of prejudice, will hereby have a very fair and reasonable prospect of being in a few years improved to one full fourth, if not to one-third, part more than what it now yields; since, by the erection of granaries or stores of corn and funds of money, those pernicious extremities of dearth and cheapness will be equally prevented in the time to come; by which not only the malt, but the other sorts of grain, will naturally receive a much greater benefit than what they are to give in the tax or contribution proposed; and since by the effects thereof, and the other parts of this design, the value of the industry, and, in consequence, the consumption, of this kingdom, may in a small time be raised to at least one-fifth part more than they amount to at present.

Thus upon the whole, his Majesty's revenue will be so far from receiving any manner of prejudice by these proposals, that the improvements of the two great branches of home and foreign excise will in the end be much more than capable of compensating the small diminution thereof by the proposed appropriations. But, however, in order to the removing or solving of any doubt which may but seem to remain after what hath been said, the following alternative is proposed:—

That the council of trade may, for the said term of twenty years, be constituted general receivers of his Majesty's revenue of home and foreign excise, feu and blench duties, and the crown-rents, on the following conditions.

The Alternative. That they become obliged to pay or cause to be paid into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, by equal

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quarterly payments, a yearly sum equivalent to the medium of what his Majesty's whole ordinary revenue has produced during the last six years; the one-half as hereditary, to be paid during the whole twenty years, and the other as temporary, to be paid only for the said twenty years, if his Majesty (whom God Almighty preserve !) shall so long live. On condition—

That all such other sum or sums as shall or may remain over and above the said medium of his Majesty's revenues may by the council of trade be detained and added to the fund under their direction, management, and trust.

Thus upon the whole it is hoped the proposal, at least this alternative, with relation to his Majesty's revenue, will appear reasonable beyond all exception, when it shall be considered that, if the proposal be admitted, then the advantages which this regulation will naturally bring to the main body of his Majesty's revenue may be capable of much more than compensating the proposed appropriation of these inconsiderable branches thereof; and that, on the other hand, should the alternative be taken, it may justly be expected that, by the prudent and steady management of the council of trade, the overplus of the whole will not be less advantageous than these smaller branches proposed.

And whatsoever shall be produced either way, not one penny thereof can go to particular or private profit, but only be as an addition to a fund which will by much be the most national that ever was established or thought on in this kingdom, and which among many other great and eminent advantages may in a few years be capable of easing and freeing this nation of all sorts of extraordinary taxes for ever hereafter.

And in the last place, since his Majesty's revenue may not only be hereby insured but rendered current, and so consequently at least ten or twelve per cent. better to the government than hitherto, and yet a sum near if not quite equivalent to the losses of our company in their late attempts of foreign trade may be thereby added to this national fund, which upon

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this occasion would be no less satisfactory to his subjects of this kingdom than glorious to his Majesty.

Thus having concluded these proposals, let us now proceed to the reasons or observations on such of the several articles thereof as may want explanation, or wherein there may appear any doubt.

Reasons for the foregoing Proposals and Articles.

On Proposal 1, *Article* 1.—The vast currents of treasure which have flowed from these unparalleled sources of the New World, within this last two hundred years, have so altered the measures of war, shaken the maxims of peace, and otherwise confounded as well as amazed the old, that all thinking men are now become highly sensible how advantageous it is for a people to promote and support their trade, navigation, and industry, and how dangerous it is to neglect it.

But in matters of trade, the interest of particular men, and that of their country, is so far from being always the same, that they are ofttimes directly opposite to one another. It is the true interest of a country, that the many should rather get every one a little, than a few should get much, because the more diffusive and universal the gain, the more it will naturally contribute to the growth and progress of industry; whereas, on the contrary, the more it is limited and restrained, the more it tends to the clogging and cramping thereof. It is for the most part the interest and inclination of particular men rather to get twenty per cent. by dealing for one hundred pounds, than only five per cent. by dealing for five hundred; although by the latter the nation would not only gain a fifth part more, but for the most part above three times as much. And doubtless it is nothing else, but this separate interest of particular men from that of the public, which hath begot so many pernicious restraints, prohibitions, monopolies, exclusions, and pre-emptions, as we find now in the world.

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Not only by this difference between the particular interests of men, and that of the public, but by other accidents, the trade, industry, and improvements of this kingdom are but too plainly and visibly reduced to such circumstances, as that it will be found altogether irretrievable except by a national council of trade, and a national fund of money for the carrying on and promoting the following and such like particulars:—1st. The employing and relieving the poor, and the repressing of idleness and sloth; 2ndly. Erecting of national granaries and stores of corn, so as that the industry of this kingdom may not, as hitherto, be at any time clogged by extreme cheapness, nor crushed by the extreme dearth of grain; 3rdly. The improvement of the mines, minerals, and other ordinary and extraordinary products of this kingdom; 4thly. The improving and advancement of our manufactures, both in quantity and quality; 5thly. The setting on foot, promoting, and carrying on that great work of making salt upon salt, or refined salt, and therewith the fisheries of this kingdom; 6thly. The reducing the interest of money to three per cent. per annum or less, not by force or restraint, but by easy and effectual means, and which can never be done but by such a constitution as a council of trade ought to be; 7thly. The effectually carrying on, countenancing, protecting, and supporting the foreign trade.

And as these and the like national improvements can never be effectually begun, carried on, or supported, but by a national council of trade, and a public fund of money suitable to the weight and consequence of the work; so those to be appointed for the execution, will have the most weighty and difficult task of any company or council that is, or ever was, in this kingdom. And the qualifications requisite to, and the expectations of, those who shall compose this council, will be such, that the whole collective wisdom and experience of men in the kingdom, will be but little enough to choose and continue the succession of persons fit for so weighty a management and trust. It is therefore proposed that the king should have the annual nomi-

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nation of the president, and that the estates of nobility, barons, and boroughs, with the representatives of the Indian and African Company, may equally have the choice of the councillors as the best method, not only for giving and continuing the greater national satisfaction, but for the preventing trade, or the designs thereof, from being made use of as popular handles, either to amuse or embroil the state; since, by this annual nomination of the president, the more direct and easy access will not only be had to his Majesty, but the credit and glory of successes will, in the person of this his representative as to their centre, naturally redound to him; whereas on the contrary, according to the policy of all monarchical governments, whether regular or absolute, the odium of miscarriages or misfortunes, when they happen, will entirely fall upon subjects, and thereby, instead of lessening the just authority or due respect of the prince, as they otherwise might, will only contribute the more to the strengthening his hands in the matters of redress or supreme control from time to time.

Article 4. For the better preserving and cultivating of integrity and justice, and preventing the prevalence of affection and compliment, in a matter of so vast a consequence as that of electing of councillors of trade, it is proposed that none of the classes or colleges of election may choose of their own number, unless two-thirds at least of the electors do concur in the choice; and likewise, that the votes may be taken by scroll and scrutiny.

Article 5. It is also highly reasonable that no president should continue longer than a year, and that one in every three of the councillors should be annually left out, and others chosen in their place, because that hereby a greater number of fit persons will not only be bred to the business, but such as may prove otherwise than expected may be more easily and quietly laid aside; and yet, neither the thing itself, nor those who shall signalise themselves therein, will be anything near so precarious or uncertain, as by an annual election of the whole.

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Article 7. Those who will be at the pains to consider the weight and consequence of this trust, will easily perceive how just and reasonable it is not only to excuse, but even to exclude, the president and councillors of trade from all other offices and dependencies whatsoever.

Article 9. As the punishments of such of the council of trade as may come to be guilty of wilful injustice, fraud, or breach of trust, ought not to be so wild, loose, and extravagant as most of our laws in the like cases have been, so they ought to be such as are just and adequate to the crime, certain in the execution, and durable in the examples and terror thereof.

On Proposal 2, *Article* 1.—This fortieth penny of all descents wherever practised is found to be one of the most easy, insensible, and equal duties that possibly can be imposed, since no man is ever obliged to pay this one until at the same time he comes to receive the thirty-nine. Was this imposition to be for ever paid as a mere charity, it would be exceedingly easy, for we find Jacob dedicated to this purpose a full tenth part, not only of what fell to him by accident, or the means of other people, but even of what he gained by his own industry; but since this is proposed to be contributed to a fund where charity and industry are united, and are to go hand in hand, it cannot properly, nor ought to be, considered as a tax, but only as a good and necessary regulation, where, by the contribution of this fortieth part, the other thirty-nine may be made much more considerable than the whole could be without it.

Article 2. This fortieth part of the values in alienations is also very reasonable and easy, nor can there possibly be any material objection unless in matter of mortgages or wadsets, as they are called, wherein indeed there ought to be some exception or considerable ease; this duty will be most naturally and easily paid by the purchasers.

Article 3. This fortieth part of the value of all manufactures ought not to be considered as a duty or an imposition, not only

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for the reasons mentioned on the article of descents, but because the ends for which this is proposed being well and duly executed, will add at least four times the value to the goodness, sufficiency, and currency of the manufactures and commodities of this kingdom. This or the like kinds of duties have been and are still paid in several trading places of Christendom, and designed for the aforesaid ends, as in the guilds of the Hanse Towns of Germany, the Halls in Flanders, and by the duty called the aulnage in England. But the execution of these trusts having been only committed to private persons, the duties have been rather applied to the advantage of those concerned than to that of the commodities they were designed for. This as now proposed cannot fail of being quite otherwise, when in the hands of a national institution, whose business and interest will always be to promote the advantage of the whole, and not that of any particulars.

Article 5. An imposition of one-twentieth part of the sums or values sued for in all actions and suits, where the party shall be found liable in expenses, will be a real national benefit, and yet but a very moderate and easy reproof to those litigious and turbulent neighbours.

Article 6. The council of trade who are to be the guardians of the industry will doubtless be the most natural receivers and controllers of charities, since in all well-ordered countries these two ought to be united into one design, and always to go hand in hand.

Articles 7 and 8. But when it shall be granted that the foregoing impositions are not only proposed to be the most useful and best applied, but the most equal and easy that can possibly be raised in this kingdom; yet perhaps this tenth part of all sorts of grain consumed, or an equivalent in money, may seem heavy and grievous to those who have not duly considered or fully weighed the case; for the better and clearer understanding whereof we shall say somewhat. 1st. With relation to taxes and impositions in general. 2ndly. Of this upon corn in par-

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ticular. And 3rdly. Of the advantages and benefits that will arise by the fund in general.

Taxes are sometimes raised for the defence and security, sometimes for the ornament, sometimes for improvement, and but too often for or towards the hurt or ruin of a country.

Taxing as well as all manner of other charges and impositions hath a twofold effect, a positive and a negative. In the first case so much as is raised, how insensibly soever, is certainly taken away from and lost to the person or circumstances obliged to pay. In the second case, it leaves a disability equal and in proportion to its weight, since not only the neat sum but the improvement and advantage that might have arisen from such a value is likewise lost to such person or circumstance. Therefore it is that the different ways of taxing, although for the same sums, are so vastly easy or uneasy with respect to one another, and have so very different effects, that reasonable and moderate duties on the consumption are ofttimes so far from being hurtful to a country in general that they naturally encourage frugality in the rich and industry in the poor; whereas those raised on the industry or increase have a clear contrary effect, insomuch that, besides the inequality which must always be much greater in taxes raised on gaining than on spending, the difference of the weight in the general is usually as one to four. So that a people in gross may be said to be at least as easy in their taxes when they pay four on their consumption as when but one upon their increase or industry.

To illustrate this, it ought to be considered that the consumption of this kingdom may amount to about 3,400,000*l.* sterling per annum, although the increase does not amount to quite so much, because the nation is upon the decaying hand; and that, although the real number may be somewhat more, yet there are good grounds to think that the best political number of the people of this kingdom will be 600,000, and that probably one-fourth of these people do consume above one-half, or 1,800,000*l.* of the before-mentioned sum, or, to avoid fractions,

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not at all necessary in these kind of computations, about 4*s*. 8*d*. sterling per week per head, whereas the other three-fourths of this mass of mankind do not perhaps altogether spend one-half of the before-mentioned sum, or not above 1,600,000*l*. per annum, or at the rate of about 16*d*. sterling per week per head.

Now suppose a tax could be equally laid upon the consumption of all this mass of mankind of the value of three pence per week on the rich, and one penny sterling per week on the poorer sort,—if the several weights were no greater than proposed, there are reasons to persuade that this tax would bring down the consumption of the one to about 4*s*. 2*d*. per week, and raise the industry of the other towards eighteen pence per week in the whole, or two pence per week more than now:—that is to say, the one penny towards payment of the tax, and the other towards living better than they now do;—and thus doubtless a very considerable tax might be raised without being hurtful, but rather beneficial, to the nation.

But since many of the taxes that could be imposed upon the consumption would be so uncertain and expensive in the collection as that they could not be easily rendered practicable, for which, and several reasons that shall be given hereafter, this imposition on corn is proposed, and will doubtless be found to be the most just, easy, and reasonable excise that can possibly be proposed in this kingdom.

For although those who are not disposed to take much pains in anything, may possibly be still for continuing our ordinary ways of taxing, either as thinking them the readiest, or because they neither do nor perhaps are willing to know any better; yet certainly the cesspool money, hearth money, and such like, do not only lie on the increase instead of the consumption, but since the land rents of this kingdom do not at this day much, if at all, exceed 1,200,000*l*. sterling per annum, and that the consumption of the nation is near three times as much,—by comparing the inequality of these things, it may be reasonably sup-

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posed that every penny raised by these ways is, nationally speaking, as uneasy to the nation as five pence laid on the consumption. In like manner, since the foreign trade of this kingdom, that is to say, the importation and exportation thereof, is not to the other industry as above one to ten at the most, therefore doubtless all that part of the customs or foreign excise which lies on this particular part of the industry may perhaps be near ten times as uneasy to the kingdom as so much would be when raised on the general consumption. But since it is the main design of the fifth proposal to take off all that part of the customs that does or but seems to lie on industry, shipping, or navigation, and to lay the same on the consumption, it need only be mentioned in this place.

Of the great advantage and benefit that may arise to a country by easy and equal taxing, the Dutch are living examples, who, in proportion to their intrinsic value, pay the greatest taxes in the known world; and yet are not only the most easy and industrious people, but there is no country in Christendom where the rich are more frugal,—the middling and industrious sort of people live better,—or the poor anything near so well.

2. But to come to this tax or imposition on corn in particular, as at present proposed,—besides the foregoing and the like reasons that may be given for excises in general, and for that one on corn, as being one of the most easy, equal, and easily collected,—there are weighty reasons for this, and this sort of imposition on corn in the present case, very particular to this kingdom; and which will make it plain that this imposition, as designed, will rather be a good, advantageous, and necessary regulation than a tax. In the first place the alternative in money, and the national granaries and stores of corn, which are proposed hereby to be erected, will not only give all sorts of grain a natural currency, but with good direction may raise the value thereof to at least one-fifth part more than what it has hitherto been, and yet always prevent its rising as well as falling to any great extremities. For example, suppose that the years in this nation

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should, one with another, continue to be anything like what they have been for several centuries past, and that the moderate price of corn in a medium were now reckoned at ten shillings sterling per boll,—by this means it may be kept between twelve and fourteen, and yet never be suffered to rise to the extremity of twenty, or fall to that of seven or eight; so that, by the means of this tenth, corn may not only be made and kept always a current commodity in time to come, without being in danger of running to extremities, but be made at least one-fifth part better to the owners of land and raisers of corn than hitherto. The which good effects, however otherwise intended, could never so naturally and easily follow if the tax or imposition hereby proposed, or the like sums of money, were any otherwise raised than thus directly on corn.

Since there is hardly any country in Christendom more subject to uncertain seasons than this kingdom, it is very strange that some of the many straits and necessities this nation hath been under have not produced some such national care and economy long ere this. It is true such great and unwieldy societies of men, as considerable kingdoms or states, especially when made up of so different, unequal, and undue mixtures as this, seldom ever made any good or fundamental reform but by accident or necessity. But, although we have not hitherto been blessed by the accident of a capable and successful person or genius in the fundamental matters of trade and improvement, yet it seems strange that none of the many and destructive famines this nation hath been exposed unto, have not ere this stirred up and awakened the very mass of mankind to some such national care and economy as is hereby proposed. For example, considering the price corn has been at within this last five years, and what quantities must needs be consumed in this kingdom, there cannot be less than a sum of 400,000*l.* sterling, or the value expended by the nation for corn, besides little less than double that sum in the loss of people and other damage.

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Now, what ought the nation to give, were it necessary to be insured against such accidents for the future;—but, more especially, when they may not only be put in a way to have sufficient stores of corn for themselves, but likewise considerable quantities toward supplying their neighbours in such unfortunate seasons?

Wise and prudent states will look far, and lay in stores for the winter of years, as well as for the winter of days. Joseph of old, by laying up one-fifth part of the corn of the seven plentiful years, was enabled not only to supply the land of Egypt during the seven years of famine, but likewise most of all the neighbouring countries. And we see the Dutch at this day, who, although they have little corn of their own growth in comparison of their consumption, and who are forced to pay dear freights and warehouse-room for what they get from abroad, and besides all this, considering the alternative, do pay more than three times the duty here proposed, and this not for national improvement but for national expense; yet, after all, as hath been said, their middling sort of people live as well, and their poor much better, than any in Europe; besides which, they have for this last century never been in any such national straits as most of their neighbouring countries, but, on the contrary, have been able, to their great profit, to export vast quantities of corn to supply the wants of other nations.

There is no doubt but extreme plenty and cheapness contribute exceedingly to extreme dearth and want, and that like other extremities they produce one another. It was observed that, for several years before the last five, corn was extremely cheap and low, even so as to discourage both the raiser and heritor, and to indulge the poor in idleness to an insufferable degree; and this habit of idleness and sloth, contracted by plenty, concurring with the unaccountable neglect of the state in not laying up some of the abundance against the time of dearth and unfavourableness of the season, was doubtless none of the least causes of the late grievous famine.

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To conclude this reasoning on the benefit of granaries and stores of corn,—considering its situation in the sea, and the command this nation may have of the fishings, by which they may be able among other wealth to procure vast quantities of corn fitter for stores than that of this kingdom,—and that, although our soil be not generally so bountiful as that of some of our neighbours, yet since it is capable of much greater improvements than hitherto, certainly our country, with reasonable national care and economy, may be made not only capable of supplying itself at all times, supposing the seasons to continue anything like what they have been for several ages past, but may be easily brought into a condition of being one of the greatest storehouses for grain of all the countries in the northern world. Now, from what has been said, or what may be naturally deduced therefrom, it is justly hoped that both the raisers and consumers of corn, and all others who may think themselves concerned, will see their accounts so advantageously balanced in the good consequences and improvements proposed, as not to remain in any further doubt with relation to the contributing their respective shares to the aforesaid fund.

But, although the benefit that would naturally accrue to this nation in the matter, and with relation to corn alone, be not only more than capable of balancing this tenth share, but even all the rest of the branches proposed to this fund,—yet there are several other advantages not less considerable in themselves, or with relation to this kingdom, than this; and since people, and their industry, are the truest and most solid riches of a country, in so much that in respect to them, all other things are but imaginary,—we shall in the next place speak of the employment of the poor; and by way of introduction shall here, in the following scheme, not only give the amount of the contributions of the city of Edinburgh towards relief of the poor for the last year, being 1699, but from thence our con-

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jecture what the same might have amounted to in the whole kingdom.

The contributions towards maintenance of the poor of the city of Edinburgh, exclusive of Leith and the Canongate, and other out parts of the town, and of all hospitals, appropriations, and mortifications as they are called, as also of corporation charities, and all manner of voluntary or concealed charities, which cannot be brought to account, for the last year, being 1699, amounted to no less than the sum of 4,552*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* sterling.

Now since it is said Leith, the Canongate, and other out parts are accounted as 75 is to 205 in the common valuations, we shall in this case consider them altogether to be only as one is to three with respect to Edinburgh. And suppose that their contributions to the poor for the year 1699 might have been about 1,517*l.* 7*s.*

	£	s.	d.
Let us likewise suppose that the hospitals and all other appropriations to charitable uses and corporation charities in the city and out parts may amount to	2,000	0	0
And that there is reason to believe that the private charities may be at least one-fourth part of the whole, or as one is to three, which will be about	2,689	16	3

	£	s.	d.
And so that the several sums of	4,552	1	8
	1,517	7	0
	2,000	0	0
	2,689	16	3
Do in the whole amount to . . .	10,759	4	11

Now, by the best accounts that can at present be recovered, the city of Edinburgh and out parts are in value really not

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above one twenty-fifth part of the whole, or as one is to twenty-four,—nor in people above one twentieth part, or as one is to nineteen—with respect to the rest of the nation; so that, if we should suppose the whole nation in their contributions to pay in proportion to this part, the yearly sum paid towards relief of the poor would be 268,981*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* But since there are reasons to think that the town of Edinburgh, in proportion to its value, doth contribute much more towards relief of the poor than the rest of the kingdom, we shall therefore suppose the same to be about one-half overrated in this matter; and so as the whole kingdom may in money, or money's worth, pay about 135,000*l.* per annum.

Notwithstanding which great sums thus expended, it is very well known that the poor of this kingdom, if it may be so expressed, do not half live. Whereas, by this proposal, the poor may not only be decently and conveniently maintained, and perpetually and profitably employed, instead of being as hitherto so insupportable a weight upon both the industry and morality of this nation, but, in about four years' time or less, the kingdom may be for ever eased of at least three-fourths of this expense; that is, of the whole, excepting the voluntary charities, which doubtless, one way and another, amount to above one hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum, and are much more than all the other duties proposed to this fund.

So that, were the aforesaid fund and anticipations thereupon proposed to no other end but the erecting of national granaries or the maintaining of the poor, it would be exceedingly well and profitably given by the nation; but how much better then must it needs be bestowed, when not only upon the one, but to answer the ends of both, and likewise of several other national improvements of no less weight and consequence, and which all of them have a certain natural connection, dependence upon, and relation to one another.

The herring and white fishing may in the next place come under our consideration; and certainly there are none who have

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taken any tolerable pains to inform themselves in this matter but are convinced that this nation is much better and more conveniently situated for the fisheries than any other in the known world; which makes the neglect thereof hitherto altogether inexcusable, as well as unaccountable, in the inhabitants thereof.

Upon the first and more superficial inquiries, the vulgar sentiments with relation to this matter seem to be, that, although it be confessed the herring, white-fish, with no small quantities of others, are much more complaisant to the people of this kingdom than to any other we know of on earth, in not only sojourning sometimes near us, but in a manner taking up their abode at our very doors, and in the very bosom of our country, when in the meantime they are courted by others from far,—and that our Government forsooth, in return for these unparalleled civilities of the fish, have from time to time made the best laws and given the greatest encouragement for fishing that is possible;—yet the mischief of all is, that by some occult quality in or enchantment upon the people, they are by no means fit for the fisheries, although the fisheries be so incomparably fit for them.

But when, in order to discover this enchantment, we look upon the people, we find they are just such another mass of mankind as any such number of men might be expected to be, when so bred, educated, and used. Under such circumstances as they have hitherto been, there seems not any material difference, only, if what is affirmed be true, they are very unfortunate that good laws will not have the same kind of good effects with them they used to have in other nations.

Now, since, as it has been said, it is not at all perceivable that the people have any material difference from others in their circumstances, and that it is only from the good effects of laws, and from no other property whatsoever, that they can be properly called good, let us venture to inquire into these good laws they speak of; and see whether the enchantment, or any

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part thereof, for all these fine words, may not lie lurking in them.

The first Act of Parliament we find relating to fishing is the 49th Act of the sixth Parliament of King James the Third, anno 1474, whereby it is ordained, "That, for the good of the realm, and the great increase of riches to be brought from other countries, certain Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and boroughs, should order great ships, busses, and other great pink-boats, with nets and other utensils and accoutrements for fishing, to be made."

The second is the 49th Act of the fourth Parliament of King James the Fourth, anno 1493, which mentions "the great and innumerable riches (as it is there expressed) that were lost to this kingdom for want of convenient ships and busses to be employed in fishing;—wherefore, for the great advantage that might be thereby had, and to cause idle men and vagabonds to labour for their livings, and for eschewing of vice and idleness, and the common profit and universal welfare of the realm, his Majesty and Estates of Parliament appoint that fishing ships and busses, of twenty tons burthen and upwards, be made in all boroughs and towns of the realm, in proportion to the ability and substance of each town."

The third is the 98th Act of the seventh Parliament of King James the Fifth, anno 1540. Whereby among other things it is enacted, "That no man, merchants or others, should send any white fish out of the realm, but permits strangers to come and buy them of merchants, or freemen of boroughs, with ready gold or silver, or bartering of sufficient merchandise for the necessary use of their houses only."

To pass over some others of less moment, as they stand in the Statute Book, we shall come in the fourth place to the 60th Act of the fourth Parliament of King James the Sixth, anno 1573, whereby it is declared, "That forasmuch as it was heavily complained, how that the whole slayers of all kind of fishes within the realm, not regarding the Acts made by

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our Sovereign Lord's dearest predecessors, which are that, when herring and white fish are slain, they ought to be brought to the next adjacent boroughs or towns where the slayers thereof do dwell, to the effect that the lieges may be first served;—and that if abundance hath occurred, they may be salted and transported by free burgesses;—by the neglect whereof our sovereign lord is greatly defrauded of his customs, and the good subjects of this kingdom want the fruits of the sea appointed by God for their nourishment, and the burgesses and freemen of boroughs disappointed of their traffic and commodity,—therefore our Sovereign Lord, with advice and consent of his Regent's Grace, and the Estates of Parliament, ordains, That all fishers, and others whatsoever, who shall happen to slay any herring, or white fish, do bring the same to free ports, there to be sold, first commonly to all the subjects, and afterwards the remainder to freemen, under pain of confiscation, not only of the fish, but of the ships, and of all the moveables of the offenders."

Thus we have here a brief view of the ancient laws relating to the fisheries, as much in their sense and manner of expression as the propriety of our present way of speaking will allow, and besides which there are likewise other Acts of the said King James the Sixth, to the same or like purpose.

By the first two of these Acts, we plainly see that our ancestors very sincerely endeavoured to begin and carry on the fisheries,—and that the recommending the same to the great men and boroughs was the best method they could light upon in those raw and early times.

And although this was but a very weak, loose, and precarious foundation, yet it seems the encouragement and advantage was such, that in less than seventy years after, the fisheries were become a tempting morsel for a set of avaricious hucksters and monopolists, who, under specious pretexts of the good of the kingdom in general, and of the boroughs in particular, first by the Act of 1540, and afterwards by that fatal one of 1573,

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and those which followed, *enhanced the whole to themselves.*—This doubtless, like monopolies, exclusions, pre-emptions, restraints, and prohibitions in other cases, first insensibly stopped the further progress and improvement, and afterwards by degrees dwarfed and crushed, the fisheries of this kingdom to such a degree, that, instead of exportations worth any mention, the nation hath not for a long time been in a condition to furnish itself one half of what fish might be reasonably consumed therein;—nor is what we have commonly half so good and wholesome as by national care and industry it might otherwise be.

As on the one hand we cannot nor ought not, in reason or justice, to suppose, that their then respective Majesties and Estates of Parliament designed anything by these two last-mentioned Acts but the good of the kingdom in general, and of the fisheries thereof in particular,—so it must needs seem strange to those who have anything deeply and ripely considered this matter, to think how and by what means possible the Parliaments could be moved to pass such Acts, as not only by their fatal consequences, but even by the plain and apparent sense and meaning thereof, are so pernicious and destructive, not only to the increase and improvement but to the very nature and being of the fisheries;—to load them with exclusions and pre-emptions, which, all things considered, were not less but rather more heavy and burthensome than one hundred per cent. imposition could have been without them;—insomuch, that, instead of encouragements as was pretended,—had they considered, not only days, but many years, they could hardly have thought of a more gradual and insensible, and, consequently, a more certain, effectual, and mischievous way to crush and ruin the fisheries of this kingdom.

But with relation to this we need not doubt but the monopolists and hucksters of that age had every whit as seeming fair and specious pretences as some of the same kidney and brood have in this; we may be sure they represented to the Parliaments and people in these times, that, although indeed

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the far greatest part of the soil of this country was none of the best, yet, fully to compensate this defect, it had pleased Almighty God to give unto the inhabitants thereof no less than the abundance of the sea, the inexhaustible and invaluable fisheries, for their nourishment and support;—that these fisheries were so naturally inherent to and inseparable from this kingdom as left no room to fear, or reasonable ground of apprehension, that the industry of strangers herein could ever come to interfere or cope with that of ours,—since they had, in the first place, long, expensive, and dangerous voyages to make before they could come at the fish,—and in the second place, they could fish but for some few months in the summer, and both they and their vessels must lie idle for all, or at least most part, of the rest of the year;—whereas, on the other hand, our coasts were not only environed and surrounded with fish, but our many and spacious inland lakes and sounds were in a manner filled therewith,—so as the inhabitants of this kingdom could not only fish with inconsiderable expense and danger, but, in one sort of profitable fish or other, during the whole year, without interruption. Say they, these things considered, we need not be at the expense, trouble, or danger of carrying our fish to strangers; if they will have any, they shall fetch them themselves;—nay, not only so, but the ignorance and presumption of these monopolists was risen to such a height that they would needs have the Parliament to take measures for preventing the people from being cheated by selling their fish to strangers, on credit, for a bad commodity or insufficient wares;—and therefore get them to enact, that for the future men should take nothing but ready gold, silver, or good and current commodities equivalent in exchange for their fish;—and lest, notwithstanding all this, ignorant fishermen, or other such like people, should sell their fish for half nothing, or too cheap, to foreigners, therefore, after all, none but free burgesses ought to be entrusted with the disposition of these national jewels. But, on the other hand, the better to gain the affection and

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countenance of the giddy and unthinking multitude to all this sophistry, they flattered them with a pretended pre-emption, which was but merely imaginary to the poor people, but real and effectual to the monopolists;—for we may be sure that, however low and druggish the price of fish might be at the very first, till most of the best fishers and seamen were, by that means, forced abroad to foreign countries, and driven from the fishing at home,—yet that, in a short time after these exclusions and pre-emptions, such of the fishers and seamen as remained, and were not in league with the hucksters, happened seldom if ever to meet with extraordinary market for their fish, wages, or employment for themselves.

As the monopolists had their proper and particular baits, hooks, or nooses for their several and various sorts of fish, we need not doubt but that they had them likewise for the different degrees and capacities of men. With the commons this pretended and sham pre-emption went doubtless very well down,—and the nobility and gentry might likewise acquiesce as knowing little or nothing of the nature of the thing. But the chief and most sensible motives of the kings and parliaments seems to have been, that, since the boroughs by reason of the fishing, and the many good consequences thereof, were become rich and able to contribute very considerably to the public duties and impositions, that, therefore—partly, as they thought, to ease themselves, and partly because some of them might possibly be envious or repine at the prosperity of the successful traders—some tax or imposition might, by instigation and consent of the nobility and gentry, be laid on the fishing, as likewise on the boroughs, for their trade,—which by the monopolists, we need not doubt, would be afterwards used as a handle; and that under pretence of gaining these monopolies for the boroughs, who they might pretend were therefore taxed, they really got them for themselves. For in all such like pretences as these, though the good of some public thing or other appears uppermost, yet private interest and personal regard are always at the

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bottom. But, however it was, we need not doubt but they as much persuaded the parliaments and people of those times, that by the mere means or ways of monopoly, pre-emption, and exclusion, they could hedge in the herring, cod, and other sorts of fish, as some of the same stamp have not a few of our neighbours in England, that they can thus not only hedge in their wool, but hinder it, or anything like it, to grow elsewhere;—or that they can heap up wealth by hedging out the Irish cattle, the Flanders manufactures, or such like. And although this matter be plain to us now, when it has had its full effect, yet certainly it could not be so to them, or we may be sure our ancestors would sooner have consented to sell the monopolists to Turkey, than to grant them so destructive and fatal pre-emptions and exclusions as these, with relation to the fisheries, have been.

So upon the whole we may safely conclude, that it has not been by the bad observation of good laws, as is ignorantly pretended by some, but rather by the good observation of bad laws, that the fisheries of this kingdom have been crushed and ruined; and that nothing less pernicious to trade and industry than the before mentioned monopolies and exclusions, gained under the glorious and specious pretence of the good of the public, and in particular of the royal boroughs,—but in reality only designed and applied to gratify the interest, avarice, and humours of a very few private men, could so totally have effectuated this matter.

In order to rise happily, nations and great societies, as well as particular persons, ought in the first place to consider well how and from whence they are fallen;—wherefore, until some further and more ample account can be had of the matter, this brief view of the most open and apparent causes, first of the discouragement and decay, and afterwards of the total loss of the fisheries of this kingdom, may be of use at least to put such as are curious in the way of informing themselves more fully and clearly herein.

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But since some who have had their thoughts on this matter seem to be of opinion that, whatever might be the first cause of the discouragement and loss of our fisheries, yet the 39th Act of the first Parliament of King Charles the Second, anno 1661, gave sufficient encouragement for retrieving thereof, had the same been but seconded by a willing and capable people, we shall here insert the substance of that Act, and conclude this head of the fisheries with some observations thereupon.

The tenor and principal substance whereof is to the following purpose:

"His Majesty and Estates of Parliament, considering the many benefits and great advantages which may accrue to him and this his ancient kingdom by the improvement and promoting the fisheries thereof, as that it will not only be a nursery for seafaring men, and a speedy occasion of building of ships, as well for the use of his Majesty as that of his subjects, both in peace and war; but likewise be a means of setting many poor and idle persons on work, and furnishing the materials of a great native export for the enriching his Majesty's kingdoms, by a sure foundation of trade and commerce;—

"For which end his Majesty and the said Estates of Parliament erect and establish particular societies or companies of such of his Majesty's natural-born or naturalised subjects, and their successors, as shall put in the sum of five hundred marks Scots or more into the joint stocks of such societies or companies, into a body politic and corporate, to have a joint stock, and power to fish in all and every the seas, channels, rivers, floods, and lakes of this kingdom, and islands thereunto belonging;—and to bring in and disburden such herrings and other fish to all ports, harbours, and shores, and to lay the same on land, to pickle them with salt, and to dry and load the same in barrels and puncheons;—to build houses or little cottages and other things necessary for the use of the said fishing trade, in all places convenient, for and upon the payment of twelve pence sterling for each last of fish, and no more, directly

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or indirectly, unto the lord or owner of such ground, as likewise to sell, use, and dispose of such herrings or other fish to the inhabitants, or carry or transport the same to foreign parts, to sell and dispose thereof to such as shall be in amity with his Majesty.

"To choose such of their own number as they think fit for the making of laws, rules, and statutes, for the better regulating, carrying on, and management of the fisheries; such laws being always allowed and approved by the council of trade; to which laws and rules all the persons and parties concerned shall be subject and submit themselves.

"The said fishings, and all manner of materials, utensils, or necessaries belonging thereunto or employed therein, are not only declared free of all customs and impositions; but the ships, boats, vessels, or persons, actually belonging unto or employed in the same fisheries, are no way liable to be pressed for public service or arrested by any creditor.

"And the fishers, masters, and servants, their materials and instruments of fishing, are not to be convenable before any judge or judicature; or liable to any civil actions, prosecutions, arrest, or attachment, for and during the whole season or time of fishing and their employment therein.

"And none are to have liberty to export herring or other fish, nor to have or use the above-written privileges, excepting only those who shall enter themselves by a day left in blank or otherwise, afterwards to be declared free of one or other of the said companies or societies by the council of trade."

Thus we have here inserted the most material substance of this Act, which, although it be a monopoly, and the Act itself appears somewhat confused, yet there is no ground to doubt but the original promoters thereof both intended and have in effect actually thereby done service to their country, but certainly not in any proportion to what they seem to have designed. Although, as hath been said, this Act be a monopoly, as appears both by the import and the practice thereof

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afterwards, yet was it incomparably more soft and easy than these barbarous monopolies of the kings James the Fifth and Sixth, and had it been made at any time during the first twenty or thirty years after that fatal Act of the year 1540, whilst there was yet some life, and consequently hope, in the then sinking fisheries, it might have revived and perhaps in some part continued them to us to this day; but not being thought of till above one hundred and twenty years had passed, when doubtless all the old fishers and materials of the fisheries were not only gone, but long since quite extinct, and in a manner utterly forgotten, in such a case as this it was morally impossible this Act could recover the fishing.

We only say, had this Act been made in time, as it would doubtless have given some ease for the present, so it might perhaps have transmitted the fisheries, at least in some part, to this present age. But perhaps neither, for what this young, easy, and smooth monopoly might have turned to in time is not easy to guess, since monopolies and exclusions, like avarice itself, instead of decreasing, like most other things, do commonly gather strength with their age; and the older they grow they are still the more pernicious.

It was only by the enchantment of monopolies and exclusions that the Hanse Towns made a shift, in a little more than two hundred years, to conjure away the greatest and best part of the trade of this side of the world, which there are good reasons to be given they might otherwise have had to this day;—all which they lost, and afterwards the greatest part of themselves (to use the word that had its derivation from thence), by *enhancing* the price of what they had, or did, too much. And not only the Hanse Towns have been thus as it were insensibly, and consequently the more effectually, ruined; but by this means, within this last two ages, Spain and Portugal have been able, if not to exhaust, at least in the greatest part to bankrupt away, the very Indies;—having already brought things to such a pass that most other nations are not only able to do things by sea or land

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a third or fourth part cheaper, but in many cases three or four times as cheap as they.

Perhaps there is not any one part or piece of trade in the world, but might and would prosper better without, than in a monopoly; unless it be in a very few and singular cases, and never but where the monopoly is qualified with an easy and reasonable permission. But the very nature of the fisheries, and all other sorts of bulky and diffusive trades, is utterly opposite to a monopoly or any sort of restraint, and ought to be free to all the inhabitants, or those who will come to be inhabitants, of a country, as the air they breathe in. Although by reason of the great advantage this nation has in that matter above others, and the common advantage there is of thirty, forty, or more per cent. above the current price by overtaking the first and flower of the foreign markets for herrings, which in the whole never amount to many hundred, not to speak of thousand, lasts in a year,—some small or inconsiderable part thereof might be carried on by monopolists, at least for a time, and until they should come gradually to enhance their presumption and prices and lessen their industry to an exorbitancy, yet can it never come to anything like that perfection, or even so as to make one-tenth part of the progress which may be justly expected from a national economy and care herein.

And for clearer light in this matter, let us take a brief view of the present state of the fisheries, and therein consider the difficulties we are likely to meet with in our prosecuting thereof, as well as the encouragements we have, notwithstanding, to persevere, in case the best ways and most reasonable methods be proposed and followed, for the promoting and carrying on of this design.

In the taking of this view, we shall find that some of our neighbours, especially the Hollanders, are not only bred up, experienced, and in a manner naturalised and hardened, in and to all the parts of navigation, especially to fishing, but

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they have all trades and manufactures relating thereunto in the greatest perfection among themselves. They have a vast native consumption, which not only gives their fish always a living price at home, but enables them to keep great stocks and quantities to supply the markets and countries abroad. Their being known and practised in the trade, gives not only their fish a currency in foreign parts, but their vast demands of corn and other commodities produced by the northern and eastern countries, which they take in return, puts them in a manner out of hazard of transporting their fish only upon the prospect of a single or outward freight. Their country is not only more free from restraints, prohibitions, monopolies, pre-emptions, and exclusions than any in Europe, but the interest or price of money, which commands all things they have, is exceedingly low, even at the rate of two or two and a half per cent per annum; and they have a free government favourable to trade.

On the other hand, as the matter now stands, we want both breeding up to and experience in fishing and navigation, and are in a manner wholly destitute of the trades, tradesmen, and manufactures fit for or relating thereunto. We not only want a native consumption to give support and uphold the currency, but also a reputation in foreign markets for our fish. And as things are now situated, the commodities of the northern and eastern countries on the continent, usually taken off by the Hollanders as returns for their fish, are by no means fit for this country, so that we are almost always liable to the hazard of exporting them on single freight. The interest or price of money with us, reckoning one thing with another, is nearer treble than double what it is with the Dutch. Finally, we are not only still clogged, pestered, and enchanted with restraints, prohibitions, pre-emptions, and exclusions, but very late as well as former experience hath sufficiently taught us that our government hath hitherto been far enough from being either favourably constituted, or even inclined to trade and improvements.

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It is true the difficulties we labour under are generally adventitious and artificial, and therefore such as may be removed; yet the greatest part of this remove or reform can never be made but at the expense of much money, care, pains, and time.

For although by the establishment of a council of trade as is proposed, and other gracious concessions of his Majesty in this Session of Parliament, both the constitution and inclination of our government with relation to trade, may come to be quite altered for the better, yet doubtless the other obstacles will not be removed but gradually, and with time. The very rawness and inexperience of our people, abstracted from the rest of the difficulties we lie under, if compared with other things of this nature, cannot reasonably be reckoned at less than one-third part or fifty per cent. disadvantage; and perhaps this alone is capable of out-balancing all the natural advantages we have in this matter; and doubtless the value or weight of the other difficulties we have at present to struggle with in respect of some of our neighbours, is little less considerable.

Thus, although by reason of the vast numbers of herring and white fish in all our channels, inlets and lakes,—(the best and greatest banks or shoals of white fish among our Western and Northern Islands any where found, and the greatest and principal shoals of herring not being ever above ten or twelve leagues from our shores, but seldom more from some good and convenient harbour during the whole season),—this nation has for the home consumption more than half, and near, if not quite, one-third part or fifty per cent. natural advantage for the exportation of these kinds of fish above any other in Christendom; yet the foregoing particulars, together with past experience, may serve to convince us that these natural advantages of ours are not only equalled, but so far over-balanced, by the artificial and adventitious difficulties we labour under, that in all probability the national fisheries cannot, or at least is never like to, be recovered by the industry of private men, merely and simply considered as such. And if it be impossible, at least

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not probable, that the fisheries can be recovered by private men, they can certainly much less by monopolies or great and unwieldy societies; since great societies in matters of trade have not only naturally a much more unwieldy, loose, uncertain, and consequently less thrifty and industrious management than lesser companies and particular partnerships of men, but, if such societies have the monopoly for any thing, it is still much worse, since we may be sure this will not only heighten their presumption, but slacken their industry the more.

But that we may be the better able to distinguish between the interests of particular men, whether monopolists or otherwise, and that of the nation in this matter of the fisheries, let us consider, that could we (as we hope in time) once come to have sufficient quantities of refined salt made for the fisheries and other uses here at home,—as things are now situated, and according to the present value and denominations of money, a last of ready cured and packed herring or white-fish would possibly in foreign materials and workmanship not stand the nation in quite forty shillings; whereas such a last of fish might stand private men, but especially unwieldy societies or monopolists, at least nine or ten pounds sterling per last in a foreign market. Now in such a case it is visibly the interest of particular men, whether concerned in a joint stock or otherwise, rather to sell one hundred lasts for twelve pounds per last, whereby they might get about twenty per cent. for their money, than to sell ten thousand lasts at ten pounds per last, where they could get nothing but labour for their pains. On the other hand, by the hundred lasts, at twelve pounds per last, the nation could only get one thousand pounds, whereas by the ten thousand lasts at ten pounds per last, the gain thereof would be no less than eighty thousand pounds, or eighty times as much.

It is not only a received maxim in trade, that the fall of the price of any current commodity heightens or raises the consumption proportionable, at least, to some certain degree, which it cannot naturally pass,—and that consequently the rise

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of the price will sink the consumption in the like proportion ;—but, in this particular case of fish, it hath been and is the opinion of many considerable merchants and experienced persons herein, that if the price of herring and other salted or cured fish were sunk one-fourth, or perhaps but one-fifth, part lower than in a medium (taking peace and war together) it hath been for the last forty years, and if a little more care were taken in the curing and packing thereof than usually there is, (all which could with care and industry be very well done, allowed, and borne both by the Dutch and us,) that this would create a demand of more than double the salted or cured fish now consumed in Christendom, and, consequently, employment for at least double the people therein. Besides, we need not doubt, but were there two or three sorts of sellers, instead of one, that even that would naturally give much more life and support both to industry and to the currency of the commodity.

Now in such a case as this, and supposing that this kingdom had a demand of ten thousand lasts of fish yearly from foreign parts, it would, doubtless, be their interest to have the price of their fish sunk from ten to eight or one-fifth part, if they could be assured that, instead of ten thousand lasts at ten, they should now, by this means, have a demand of double that quantity, or twenty thousand lasts per annum at eight ;—because thereby the nation, instead of gaining only eighty thousand pounds per annum, would get one hundred and twenty thousand, or a third part more, besides the proportion in their consumption at home. But, in such a case, particular men, especially such as had the monopoly, would rather be for advancing the price than lowering thereof; they would rather be for selling if it were but one half, or fifty lasts instead of a hundred, at a fifth part more than double or treble for anything considerable of a lesser price.

By these and the like instances that might be given, it may plainly appear how impossible it is for the national fisheries to be anything like effectually retrieved by private or particular

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men, either out of, and much less in, a monopoly, or, indeed, any other way but by national care and expense;—not for the prohibiting or excluding any, but towards the support and encouragement of all particular undertakers whatsoever. Indeed, who are so much concerned to be at the expense and trouble of the recovery, the learning, and breeding the nation to the fisheries, as the nation itself? since, where any particular man can possibly get a penny by the fisheries, the kingdom in general, considered as such, will at least get eight;—and what would it be for the nation, or any in their circumstances, in such a case as this is, if need were to expend and even sink two or three hundred thousand pounds sterling, or were it much more, to gain at least so much per annum for all time to come?

But, by the method proposed, this needs not be; for, instead of loss or hazard, the nation may be plentifully gainers in and by every step they take; since, if things be taken by the right handle, all these national improvements, such as employing the poor, constituting of granaries, lowering the interest or price of money, carrying on the fisheries, manufactures, and foreign trade, have such an easy connection, and are so naturally linked together, that, instead of being a hindrance, every one helps to carry on the other, insomuch that it may be safely affirmed, the doing the whole together may be much more secure, cheap, and easy to the kingdom, than to leave any part thereof behind, which in such a case could not fail to lie as a dead weight and discouragement upon the rest.

The constituting of granaries will not only open a door for a great deal of good and profitable work, but exceedingly contribute to the maintenance of the poor; and this considerable consumption of grain by the poor, will not only greatly contribute to the keeping up and maintaining the granaries, and help to give the corn a natural currency at home, but very much to the more easy and profitable vent thereof abroad; for it ought to be considered, that, if this constitution was settled, one of the

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greatest and most profitable trades to this kingdom might be driven in corn. But we may be sure this can never be by exporting it, or even giving money towards the exporting thereof, when at the lowest ebb of cheapness, and buying it back again when at two or three prices as hitherto, but, on the contrary, by laying up or importing when cheap, and not exporting but when dear, or at least when it yields a good and living price in the markets abroad.

By the nearest computations we are at present able to make, this erecting of granaries and employing the poor might in the space of five or six years time be capable of increasing the consumption of grain in this kingdom to about one fourth part more than it now is, or to an increase of about twenty thousand lasts per annum, reckoning eight quarters English, or twenty of our bolls, to the last; and it is left to every one to consider what life, vigour, and improvement this would give to the husbandry, and consequently to the lands and rents of this nation; and certainly were the husbandry once under so happy an influence and encouragement as this constitution would naturally yield, this kingdom would be easily capable of raising this, or, if need were, much more than this, over and above the quantities now raised.

The carrying on of the fisheries together with the manufactures depending thereon, may also not only be capable of yielding employment, but likewise subsistence for vast numbers of people, since there is reason to think that towards the sufficient maintenance of the poor, when they shall come to be employed, there may directly and indirectly go no less than a quantity of twenty thousand lasts of herring and other fish yearly more than hath been for some years past, or is at present consumed in the kingdom; and this demand and currency at home will in all probability naturally make way for the exportation and foreign vent of at least so much more, since it is in a great measure from and in proportion to the demand and currency of commodities at home that merchants are or can be

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enabled to furnish themselves with stocks and quantities for foreign trade, or exportation to markets abroad.

The granaries and the fisheries will likewise have a very singular connection with and relation to one another; for by reason of their granaries the council of trade will be capable of giving particular life and encouragement to the fisheries; since by them they will be capable of receiving corn in the East Countries as a current commodity in return for their fish, and of laying the same up from time to time as occasion shall offer, and as, generally speaking, more fit for store or long keeping than that produced in this country.

Besides the particular support and encouragement the council of trade will be capable of giving to the fisheries by reason of the national granaries, the general encouragements they will of course be able to give to all manner of manufactures, especially to those belonging unto or more immediately depending on the fisheries and other sorts of navigation, will naturally create so great a demand of the materials requisite, from the Northern and Eastern Countries of the Continent, that we shall very rarely, if at all, be any more in danger of exporting our fish at the loss or hazard of only a single freight, which we are so very much now exposed unto.

And if to what hath been said we add the lowering the price of forbearance, or use of money, which can never be so naturally or easily done as by such a fund and national council of trade, and the putting the nation in a way of making sufficient quantities of refined salt here at home, which in all appearance can hardly be done, or at least so well and profitably done, as by such a constitution, it will clearly and plainly appear how much more naturally, beneficially, and diffusively this national constitution will be capable of retrieving and promoting the fisheries than any other ways and means hitherto proposed.

Thus having made this brief deduction, and taken a short view of the past and present state of the proper fisheries of this kingdom, it is hoped that others may hereby be moved to en-

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large their thoughts thereupon, as being a matter of that consequence, as not only to deserve the pains and scrutiny of every good countryman, but of the clearest heads and best prepared breasts in Christendom, for and in order to the putting thereof in a true light;—and not only the protection and countenance of a King of Scotland strictly considered, but all the protection, countenance, and support that a King of Britain can give,—as being capable in the most natural, easy, secure, and advantageous way hitherto discovered, in a very few years, to increase the mariners, ships, and navigation of this whole island to at least one-third part more than they now are.

And upon the whole it may be justly affirmed that this is not only capable of being the most considerable thing that doth or perhaps can possibly belong to this kingdom, merely considered as such, (since greater wealth may be hereby gained out of the sea than our land at present does, or, it may be, is capable of yielding;) but, considering all the good consequences thereof, every penny gained by the fishings may be at least as good as three gained by any other home improvement. Moreover, were it impossible for the fishings only to be effectually retrieved, without giving treble the before-mentioned funds, the nation ought readily and cheerfully to comply therewith,—how much more then, in so natural, easy, and advantageous a way as is proposed.

By what hath been said with relation to the fisheries, we would by no means be understood to mean any prejudice, or to entertain other than kind and respectful thoughts of our neighbours the Hollanders; nor is there any just cause of jealousy or umbrage in this matter, since here is much more than room enough in the fisheries for us and them: and certainly, were there three times as many concerned as now, there would at least be three times the business, and yet still upon the improving hand; for trade is and will be capable of increasing trade, money of begetting money, and one improvement of making way for another to the end of the world; and,

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as the Dutch for more than an age have been, they will doubtless still continue to be, considerable in the fisheries and foreign trade, at least so long and in so far as they shall remember, and act as if they remembered, that it has not been by monopolies and exclusions, but by the generous principles of ease, freedom, and security which they have prudently opposed to the heavy impositions, restraints, and prohibitions of others, that they have been enabled to raise themselves. It is true, if, quite contrary to all this, they who of all men living have most known by experience that trade is a coy mistress, and will not be hectored but courted; if even they shall begin to take umbrage at the industry of others; if they shall be for forsaking their old and virtuous principles, and way of courting trade by industry, frugality, and ingenuity, and betake themselves to force and violence, which has ruined so many others before, this indeed would look but too like a sign of their declension.

However, it would seem the Dutch are not quite out of danger of being taken by this enchantment of restraints and prohibitions; the Placaats of the States General of April 1669 and of July 1678, with some other of their late pcoceedings with relation to the fisheries and foreign trade, look but too much like symptoms of this. But as there are no true friends to religion and liberty, and particularly that have had any tolerable knowledge of that Protestant republic, or acquaintance with that industrious people, but ought to be sorry to see or hear of any thing that shall but look like their decline,—so in this case we may venture to tell them from experience, that whenever they shall begin to forsake or considerably to slacken their industry, by having recourse to the mean and ineffectual shifts of restraints and prohibitions, they will find, to the cost of their country, that by these methods they are at least as incapable of hedging in the herring, white, and other sorts of fish as our ancestors have been; and that we are so far from being uneasy with their rivalship in this matter, that we wish they

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may gain by our experience, and not stay till it shall be confirmed by that of their own.

To end this digression :—whatever different humours or popular animosities may suggest, it is certainly not the interest of Britain and Holland to differ; and were there even just grounds for a misunderstanding, as there really is not, the common care and concern of religion and liberty ought sufficiently to incline both parties to an accommodation. Since it is certainly our mutual interests and security, as matters are now situated, not only that neither should decline, but that both should prosper and thrive ;—since we are like to have but too much to do with all our joint industry and improvements to withstand that dreadful storm which is so openly and visibly arising against the Protestant religion and liberties of Europe; all their progress and ours united is like to be little enough to balance that growing greatness of the popish world, which at this day stands so formidably ranged under the banners of the House of Bourbon ; or, it may be, to avoid even our own shares of those Gallic chains which are in so great a measure already prepared for Christendom.

As in the course of our observations on the national granaries, the employment of the poor, and the fisheries, some hints have been given of the connection and relation those things have to one another, so upon due consideration we shall find the same connection and relation still continue between these and the manufactures ;—since as the fisheries and navigation are capable of being the principal and chiefest springs of our manufactures and industry at home, so these again may be the truest and most solid fund and basis of the other. Whatsoever sudden and floating motions may be made, or accidental flights may be taken and continued for a time, yet certainly it can only be jointly with and in proportion to the growth and increase of our manufactures and industry at home, that our fisheries and navigation can make any solid or steady progress in the world. We see the Spaniards, who at this day have the greatest scope

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for profitable navigation of any people on earth, or perhaps, all things considered, than the whole world besides; yet for want of home industry their fleets are so far from being such as can cope with those of Princes, that they have much ado to withstand a few pirates whenever they happen to muster against them. And, although they still make a faint and sorry shift to draw some gold and silver from their Indian mines, yet it is not for themselves but for strangers;—so that instead of being masters, as they otherwise might, they are now become no better than slaves to others, and herein, suitable to that excellent saying of Solomon, we eminently see "the hand of the diligent bearing rule, but the slothful under tribute."

The advantage this nation hath in the situation for the fisheries and navigation, does not only exceedingly contribute to its fitness for manufactures, but the people thereof are, or at least are capable of being, as easy in their taxes and of living as cheap as those of any trading nation in Christendom; besides which we have here at home considerable quantities of good and convenient materials for this purpose, such as wool, hemp, flax, lead, and other native product. But, although several manufactures of these are already on foot, yet it must be confessed not in any tolerable degree of perfection; and of the many trades depending directly on the fisheries and navigation, we have as yet but few, and these likewise far enough from being in an improving and flourishing state;—all which defects manifestly proceed from the rawness and inexperience of our people, many whereof seem not only to want the knowledge, but even the will to industry; nor are they at all singular in this matter, but, as hath been already said, just like such another mass of mankind in their circumstances;—for how vast a difference is there naturally between an industrious and an idle man! To see with what ease, exactness, and even delight and satisfaction one who is master of his work goes about his business and performs his task, whereas on the contrary he who wants knowledge and experience, or even but the use and

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practice, although he have other equal natural qualifications, can for the most part neither do half the quantity nor anything near so well, though with much more trouble and fatigue both of body and mind.

Now if, as in the case of the fisheries, it should be asked, at whose pains and expense ought the people of this kingdom be broken off from this habit of idleness, or in many cases perhaps unprofitable work, and learned and trained up to industry,—will monopolists or private men not rather choose at all times to deal but for one hundred pounds; or to set only one hundred men to work, where they can get ten per cent. for their money, than to deal for a thousand pounds, or to set a thousand men at work, where only five per cent. can be gained? The reason whereof is plain, that since they can make five or six per cent. of their money at interest, or upon a purchase, they will never be at the pains or run the risk of putting it into trade without a much greater prospect of advantage; whereas, quite contrary to all this, it is not seldom the interest of the nation rather even to lose five or more per cent. by their proper money, to have double the people employed or work done, since for the most part the nation, considered as such, may gain at least one-half, nay sometimes above three-fourths, of the produce by profitable manufactures.

It is true we find it the custom of not a few trading nations, as an encouragement to trade and industry, to grant monopolies of any new invention, or to those concerned in the first introducing of manufactures to a country; but in this we may likewise observe that these monopolies are commonly granted but for fourteen, fifteen, or hardly exceeding twenty years; and although this sort of young monopolies, as has been said, be not so pernicious as others, and that this be indeed one way of learning of arts unto and of begetting industry in a nation, yet surely it is so far from being the best, that it were often, nay, for the most part, much better for a prince or state to give double or treble the sum gained by the monopoly as a reward

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to the inventor or introducer; since it not only, for the time at least, possibly hinders four or five, but it may be eight or ten, times the people from going into the matter, but not seldom proves so bad a preparative as in a great measure to balk the further growth and progress thereof, even when the monopoly is at an end.

Besides several monopolies that have been granted for, or at least in order to, the introducing and for the encouragement of the manufactures of this kingdom, great things have been and still are proposed to be done in that matter, by the prohibiting the exportation of wool. But this is either done by some who, whether it be or not, at least think it to be, their private interest, or by others who are not used, or it may be not willing, to look far into consequences, and are therefore apt to confound the causes of things with the effects, and the effects with the causes,—and to draw conclusions from accidents, without ever considering whether they have any sort of correspondence with or relation to the case. But if these gentlemen would take but any reasonable pains in this matter, they might be easily convinced that this old and threadbare shift of prohibiting the exportation of wool is not only in its nature ineffectual for the ends proposed,—since whenever it yields a price worth running the risk, it shall and will always be exported abroad, nay, even if instead of restraints and prohibitions we should set guards and garrisons to keep it in,—but that to this kingdom it is, and must be, of pernicious consequence, since it equally discourages both the raising and importing of wool. As to the raiser, we may be sure no man will lay out himself, or it may be put his posterity upon laying out themselves, to cultivate, improve, and raise greater quantities of a commodity which he knows must after all be at the disposal of other people, and that it must be they, and not he, who pretend to set the price. The importer hath doubtless the same reason not to bring, or send his effects, no more than he would his person, to a prison,—but especially to a country which is so far from having stores of this commodity, that

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perhaps the value of five thousand pounds sterling or less in fine wool extraordinary at a time, is capable to sink the price at least one-third part, or fifty per cent. Whereas, was this matter on a just foot, this nation might always have a stock of not less than one hundred thousand pounds sterling worth of fine wool more than they hitherto use to have, which indeed might be capable of keeping wool, like corn, from flying from one extremity to another, as it usually does in this country.

In all countries like this, where husbandry and pasturage are the principal supports, and where there are neither considerable stocks nor importations, there is no doubt but corn and wool will, in a great measure, always not only increase and decrease, but rise and fall together; or otherwise, certainly, those who are concerned in raising of wool must be starved or in a very bad condition; since, if their wool cannot yield them two or three prices, as corn does to the husbandman, they must go without one-half, or perhaps two-thirds, of their subsistence. Doubtless this was the principal occasion of the late rise of wool, and not the exportations, as some among the unthinking crowd are apt to imagine, for certainly had there been one hundred thousand lasts of corn, and a quantity of one hundred thousand pounds value in fine wool, more in this nation two years ago than there was, neither the one or other could have risen to such extremities; and yet perhaps the nation would be at least three millions sterling richer than it is at this day.

Whatever effect restraint on the exportation may have upon the price of wool in making it worth little or nothing for a few months, or it may be for some years, yet, when by this both the raiser and importer are sensibly discouraged, there is no doubt but that extremity will as naturally produce another in the matter of wool as it does in that of corn; and so, at this rate, one extremity may produce another to the end of the world, and these extravagant fits and starts may disable the nation for ever from making any solid or steady progress in this part of their industry.

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We see our neighbours the Hollanders, whom we have frequently mentioned on other occasions, who, having little wool of their own, are therefore forced to fetch it from Poland, Bohemia, Silesia, several other places of Germany, England, Ireland, and other places of Christendom; and notwithstanding all this, and that the people of this nation are generally able to work at least fifteen or twenty per cent. cheaper than they, yet what a progress have they made and do they still make in the woollen manufactures! and all this without the help of restraints, which, whenever they should come to try, they would doubtless find that thereby the importation instead of the exportation of wool should be discouraged, as they lately pretty severely felt in their but beginning to practise upon that of corn.

Were things of this nature rightly prosecuted and promoted here with us, as now they are quite otherwise, there is no doubt but we could work as cheap in the woollen manufactures, and consequently give as good a price for wool, as any people in Europe, and be capable of working up much more fine wool than this nation either does or can be able to raise. Yet, if the raisers shall be encouraged, instead of being oppressed and crushed by restraints and prohibitions, they may easily be brought to raise double if not treble the fine wool they now do. Besides that, considering the advantageous returns thereof, we may have from the East countries and elsewhere for our fish, and the door that is naturally opened to us by these violent restraints on exportations of wool in our neighbour countries, this nation might be made one of the best staple ports for wool in Europe; and by that means the rising and falling of the price thereof would be prevented in a more solid, effectual, and durable way than is even pretended to by those who are so fond of this prohibition; and, if all things be duly considered, they will be found to have much less reason to presume they can this way hedge in our wool and woollen manufactures than our ancestors had for hedging in the fish, since they had not only much greater natural advantages on their side, but hardly the

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least prospect of any such potent rivals as we have many at this day in the matter of wool and woollen manufactures.

But since there is somewhat much nicer in this question of exportation of wool at this juncture than all what hath been said, and which will be fitter for the consideration of a council of trade, when established, than to be exposed in these papers, and since it is proposed as one of their principal powers to dispense with restraints and prohibitions, when they shall find them prejudicial to trade, they only will be most capable not only to understand but to put this and such like things as this in a true light, and to do what is requisite therein.

And to conclude this head,—generally speaking the manufactures of this nation are in so very great disorder, that, were there no other reason for constituting such a council of trade, this were sufficient; since it may be justly presumed, such a council in a few years may not only be capable of improving the manufactures of this kingdom to double or treble the advantage they now make, but thereby to bring the poor, who at this day are the greatest weight and burden upon the industry and morality of the nation, to be the truest and firmest supports of both.

Next to the manufactures and artificial products, the mines, minerals, and other natural products of this kingdom, deserve our consideration, not only because that herein the materials as well as the workmanship are and would be our own, but because there are good reasons to think that great and considerable advantage and improvements might be made in those, by a national institution, the which can never be expected from the pains, care, or expense of private men.

The lowering and sinking the interest of money, not by force or coercion, but by gradual and natural steps and means, would be none of the least advantages of this institution, since it may be reasonably expected that they may bring the rate of interest down to three per cent. or under, in the space of four or five years; and, although it must be acknowledged that other me-

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thods for lowering the interest of money might be proposed, yet there is reason to think that none will or can be so naturally easy, or indeed so effectual as this, or such a national institution and fund as this would be.

For the truer sense and better understanding of how great a national benefit this would prove, it ought to be considered that the whole industry of a country is affected by the weight of the interest of money; and whether such industry ever come to be bought, sold, or bartered, or not, this alters not the case in general, since, as money is the standard of every thing, so all things are valued by money in a trading country;—and as the interest of money is really and actually an imposition on all sorts of industry, so, as has been instanced in our observations on equal taxing, it has a double—a positive and a negative—effect, which in this particular case may be illustrated thus: As it hath been already said that the consumption of this nation may amount to 3,400,000*l.*, let us now suppose that the present value of the industry may amount to 3,300,000*l.* sterling per annum,—and supposing the rate of interest of money with us to be at six per cent., in such a case, it may be reasonably inferred, that there is hardly any man will be inclinable to employ his money in trade or business without the hope and prospect of double the ordinary interest, or the rate of twelve per cent. per annum;—but again, supposing this rate of six per cent. could, by natural and reasonable means, be brought down to three, there is no doubt but those who before would not put their money into trade under a prospect of ten or twelve per cent. per annum, would now as readily do it for six, because by the second they double the interest of their money, and by the first they did no more. And, since every one who has been concerned in or seen the practice in countries where there is considerable difference in the interest of money do know this to be true, we may justly conclude, that by such an alteration as this the industry of this kingdom would be eased of a weight or imposition of six per cent. per annum, and which in the whole may

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amount to a sum of 198,000*l.*, or, to come to an even number, of about 200,000*l.* sterling yearly.

This ease, and consequently improvement, of the industry would chiefly and principally fall on the lands by two several ways: first, the fall of interest one half would naturally raise the value or price of lands at least one third, or fifty per cent. in the purchase; and, in the second place, it would raise even the rents or value of the incomes about one sixth part; since, supposing the rents of the lands of this kingdom to be, as has already been said, about 1,200,000*l.* sterling, this 200,000*l.* per annum, proposed to be lowered in interest, or this way taken off from the industry, would gradually, and in a reasonable course of time, come to centre in and be added to the land, and consequently to its value, as to the most natural fund and basis thereof.

But as there can hardly a public good be proposed but some private interest or humour or other will of course be for making opposition, it is possible to this it may be objected, by some of these few, who altogether or for the most part are subsisted by usury, that this lowering of interest may not only be a prejudice to them, but to several widows, orphans, and other weak people, who live only or for the most part on their money. To this it may be answered, that as to those who are strong and able in body and mind for some lawful employment or other, it is justly supposed that no state, who pretend to any share of wisdom or prudence, will encourage such a sort of idle people; especially, when perhaps in this nation they are not one in two hundred to the rest of mankind. And how unaccountable would it be for a country either to make or keep up laws to encourage and indulge one in two hundred of their people not only to live idle themselves, but by the influence of their usuries and extortion, as well as example, to crush the industry of others above ten times as much as the value of their whole necessary expenses amounts unto! It is true the widows and orphans who live on their money may be about double the

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number of these more able drones; but yet even these do not in this country perhaps amount to one per cent. of the whole people; and is it not more reasonable these few should live at so much less expense, or betake themselves to some sort of honest industry, than that the whole nation should so intolerably suffer on their account? Besides all this, it ought to be considered that by the fall of the interest the ways of gaining would be so multiplied, and such comfortable and creditable methods for maintenance and support would of course be provided for such as really could not live or subsist of themselves, as would be much more than capable of compensating the real loss of any who in such a case could in the least deserve the public care or commiseration.

As it is only by our home industry that we can be best enabled to raise ships, vessels, materials for navigation, and proper commodities for foreign vent,—and as the easy and cheap performance of all this must proceed from the due and orderly employment of the poor, from the moderate and regular rates of corn and other provisions, as also of materials for manufacture and interest of money,—so it is only our navigation that can be the most direct and beneficial conveyancers of those growths and manufactures to foreign markets, or of breeding and increasing seamen or other persons capable of the management of foreign trade. For that which hath been already said with relation to the fisheries will likewise hold in all other parts of the navigation; that is to say, that, nationally speaking, and all things considered, every penny gotten by the kingdom in foreign trade, may justly be reckoned worth three by any other home improvement; and that commonly where any particular man can get a penny, the nation in general may get seven or eight; since, besides the influence the increase of our foreign trade must needs have on all our home industry, these vast importations of gold and silver within the last two ages has already brought things to such a pass, that even where husbandry and pasturage are in greater perfection, and upon a

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much more beneficial foot than in this kingdom, the labour and industry of two men employed in husbandry is in direct value for the most part worth but that of one employed in manufactures, as three in manufactures are worth but two employed in navigation.

Certainly these and the like considerations ought to be sufficient motives for inclining and engaging this kingdom to promote and support its foreign trade, if need were, by all the just ways and means that are or can be in its power; but how much more, when this can be done in so natural, easy, secure, and advantageous a method as is here proposed;—when by but a small and inconsiderable part, not of the present product, but only of the improvement of our home industry, so very considerable sums may be raised to carry on our foreign trade. For it may be reasonably presumed that, by this institution, in five or six years' space the value of the industry of this kingdom may be advanced to near, if not quite, to one-fourth part, or to about the value of 800,000*l.* sterling yearly more than it now is, and yet may be still upon the improving hand, and so as in a reasonable course of time to bring it to a much greater sum.

Doubtless from hence it may be demanded why this institution was not introduced in the very beginning, since, if things be as they are here represented, the nation might thereby have been in a condition to have annually contributed more considerable sums than all that the subscribers have advanced during the space of five years together; and, although this had been all lost, yet the country might perhaps have been a million sterling richer than it is at this day; and since not only this, but much more than this, might have been done had these been years of as great plenty as they have been of scarcity?

But such as may be inclined to ask this question, ought likewise to observe, that this can still be carried much further, and particularly by saying, if this had been done but five or six years before these last years of scarcity, the council of trade

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might have so ordered matters as to have rendered that very accident as beneficial as it has been disadvantageous to this kingdom; but that since such an institution was not then so much as thought on, much less established, we have only everybody, and consequently nobody, to blame.

Those who were principally concerned in promoting the establishment and designs of the company might possibly then be much unacquainted with the affairs of this kingdom, both as to men and things, but especially in that of national improvements; which, for anything we know, have hardly ever yet been made the business or general study of any capable person either at home or abroad. Perhaps they might be doubtful whether they were capable of bringing the nation to engage in a matter of this consequence all at once, and rather judge it advisable to begin with a part, and so incline them to the whole by degrees. It is possible they might be so very intent upon getting the first possession and footing in so valuable a settlement as was intended, as to postpone the thoughts of everything else, and, as not in the least suspecting the unaccountable treatment and opposition at Hamburg and elsewhere, might have the greatest part of their dependence on a foreign stock of money, which at that time might appear to them the readiest and easiest way of bringing the foreign trade, and, together with that, all other national designs about.

But to leave all these more remote conjectures, let us suppose that, as there are things to be known to-morrow which are not revealed to-day, and as men at best do but know in part and can only come to the understanding of things by degrees, so, although this scheme be doubtless very imperfect in respect to what it may be brought to in time, yet it is likely that even this did not all present itself to the thoughts of any one or more men at once. Possibly seeing but darkly into these things at first, they might not be so much persuaded of the weight and consequence of the particulars of the whole together,—of their connection with and relation to one another,—

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or of the way and means of putting them in execution, as they might be afterwards. And, upon further consideration, it is likely these were not only the thoughts of some hours or days but of not a few months, and this after the experience and difficulties of many years; nay, it may be, the rise and progress of some of these thoughts are in no small measure due to the very nature, weight, and variety of our present difficulties and disappointments; perhaps, nothing less than the many repeated and various disappointments of our company, the sad effects of the late grievous dearth, the miserable condition of our poor, and, in a word, the great and general disorders in all our national affairs, could have taken so deep an impression, or at this time have occasioned so narrow a search, or so exact a scrutiny, as has already been made into some of the matters contained in these proposals. And, after all, nothing less than the repeated gracious assurances given by his Majesty to concur in everything that can be reasonably fallen upon for retrieving the company, and therewith the nation, and for setting our trade on sure foundations, together with the hope and assurance of a Parliament frankly and generously inclined to all this, could have given the needful life, encouragement, and support to anything like a due prosecution of thoughts of this nature.

Besides the advantages this fund and institution may be capable of yielding in the before-mentioned particulars of granaries, employing and relieving the poor, carrying on and promoting the fisheries and manufactories, cultivating and improving the native products, lowering the interest of money, and promoting and supporting the foreign trade of this kingdom;—there are two others, which although but consequential to these, yet are they of such weight and consequence that, were there no other or greater benefit to be expected from this institution, they might be sufficient motives for the establishment thereof.

The first of these is the augmentation and increase of his Majesty's revenue, which by this means will naturally follow, two manner of ways,—that is to say, both ordinary and extraor-

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dinary. By the ordinary, the revenue, especially those greater branches of home and foreign excise, will not only improve in proportion to the improvement of the kingdom, but in proportion to the vast difference there will naturally be between the quality and nature of the consumption of the people, when the nation shall once be brought as much upon the thriving or growing, as now it is upon the declining hand. As to the extraordinary, when this institution shall come to be fixed and settled, as it may very well be in five or six years, or, with good and careful management, in little more than half the time,—it will from the very improvement be capable of easing the nation of all extraordinary taxes, as cess, pole, hearth money, and such like grievous and unequal duties, for ever after, at least as far as a sum not exceeding fifty thousand pounds sterling yearly will go;—and not only so, but likewise upon more than ordinary emergencies, where much greater sums might be required, this institution would not only be capable of rendering the moneys to be raised by anticipation much more ready and current, but even of rendering taxing itself much more easy and equal, than it otherwise could possibly be. Since by this means the common objections against excises, as, on the one hand, that they are not easily brought to bear, it being for the most part several years before they can be settled and made effectual; so on the other, being of an easy and insensible nature, when once afoot, renders them hard to be laid aside, and consequently dangerous to liberty in a regular monarchy,—these objections will be effectually solved in the council of trade, since, being the national trustees, such funds may, from time to time, be committed to their administration; and by them the money may be advanced to the Government by anticipation or otherwise.

Thus the nation may hereby not only be eased of its present uneasy and unequal ways of taxing, but the King, as he is most of all concerned in the kingdom, will naturally reap the far greatest share of the benefit, since hereby his Majesty's kingdom, all things considered, may be rendered perhaps little less

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than three times as capable of giving and affording supplies, and consequently three times as valuable to him as it has hitherto been.

The other considerable advantage which may be reasonably expected from this institution will be that, besides the hope we justly have of the accession of foreigners, this will doubtless be the most powerful and effectual means that can possibly be thought upon to invite and draw home to their native country no small numbers of those great multitudes of our countrymen who have been driven abroad by the late oppressions, and still continue in foreign parts, by reason of our present disorders.

And now, to conclude our reasoning on these seventh and eighth articles in particular, and on the funds in general,—allowing that the funds hereby proposed, were designed for national expense,—as they are quite otherwise, that is to say, only for national improvements,—yet this nation would still be very easy in their ordinary payments, in respect or when compared with some of their neighbours, but especially the Hollanders, who, reckoning the conveniency of the alternative, do not only pay above three times the value of this imposition on corn in particular, but in proportion to their respective values at least three times as much in the general, as would be paid by this kingdom, even after this institution should be established; and it is hoped there are none who but pretend to be good patriots of this nation, who would not, according to their several abilities, be content to pay full as much if not more than the Dutch, to have their country but half so flourishing as that of theirs.

But, on the other hand, if these duties shall be taken, considered, and understood, not as they at first may seem but as they really are,—not as taxes and sums raised for national expense, but for the making and promoting of national improvements,—not as public burthens, but as good and necessary regulations, whereby every penny raised may be at least worth ten to the kingdom, and consequently in proportion to the parties con-

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cerned in contributing thereof,—it is justly hoped these funds will not only be complied with and established as of necessity, but with all imaginable cheerfulness.

Article 10.—As money answers all things, so, without a sufficient fund thereof, all we have, or possibly can propose, would be ineffectual. The insufficiency of the fund or want of money, nay the very fear or apprehension of the want thereof, has ruined and lost many of the best and greatest designs that ever were in the world; and certainly a much less sum than what is here proposed to be anticipated, can never be capable of effectuating so great a work as this. And herein it ought to be considered, that if any sum should be over, it will not only be secure and at the call of the nation, but in the mean time may be profitably employed; whereas should the fund fall short, or but seem in danger of falling short, these designs, the success whereof do so naturally depend on one another, might, at least in a great measure, be in danger of proving ineffectual; and as there are none who shall duly consider the connection of the before-mentioned designs of trade and improvement, and the dependence they naturally have upon one another, but must fully be convinced of this, it is justly hoped and expected, that every well-wisher to the happiness of this kingdom will endeavour first to propose somewhat in lieu of any part of this fund or institution that he or they shall come to raise scruples or objections against. For the retrieving the losses, reputation, and relieving our country from its present distress and reproach, is a sore that ought not only to be skinned over but effectually cured, whatever pains and expense it cost; and without this, or some such institution and fund as this, it may reasonably be presumed our country can neither be relieved from its present difficulties, nor put upon a prosperous footing.

Considering the scarcity of money in and the smallness of the receipts and payments of this nation, by the ordinary way of anticipation, there could hardly be much more than half the sum of ten hundred thousand pound sterling reasonably de-

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pended on from the credit of this fund, within the proposed three or four years; but although more than this cannot reasonably be expected from the ordinary way, yet if this fund or its equivalent shall be settled and constituted as is proposed, there are those who can not only propose a sure and certain method of raising the said whole sum of ten hundred thousand pounds in proportionate payments, within the first four years, but likewise in a very advantageous way to the nation.

On Proposal 3, *Article* 1. This kingdom is highly obliged, both in honour and interest, to refund and support the Indian and African Company upon this occasion; in honour, because the nation is not only the natural guardian thereof, and of all its trading inhabitants, but is especially become such by the Act of Parliament establishing this company;—and because in the opposition they have met with, and which has occasioned their losses and misfortunes, not only their rights and properties, but those of the kingdom in a very particular and sensible manner, have been evaded; and in such a case, the matter of demanding and procuring national satisfaction for the loss of reputation and damage done, is not nor cannot be the proper work of the company, or any other particulars, but only of the kingdom in general.

And as the nation is concerned in honour, so it is a point of interest to refund and support the company, since it has been said, on the head of foreign trade, that for the most part, where the company can reasonably be supposed to get a penny, the nation may one way and other get seven or eight. And it will not only be the kingdom's interest in point of direct advantage, but certainly this refunding and re-establishment of the company will be one of the most politic and prudent actions that could be done by a nation, as being capable of giving much more life and power at home, and reputation and confidence abroad, than the value of such a sum can possibly be to the kingdom.

But besides all this, as has been said on the tenth article of the second proposal, there are those who can, on behalf of the

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company, propose a way for raising a sum equivalent, if not exceeding, what is hereby required, more than could otherwise possibly be raised from this fund by the ordinary means, and which there is reason to believe could not, at least at this time, be done without the interest and help of those who are concerned for the company; so that the very doing the thing in this way and method, may be at least so much if not more immediate advantage to the kingdom, besides all the other good fruits and consequences that may reasonably be expected from so just, generous, and prudent an act as this.

Article 2. Since, as has been already said, nothing can be more advantageous to the increase and success of the industry of this kingdom, than the effectual supporting and promoting its foreign trade, which hath now been neglected for near, if not quite, an age, it is certainly not only necessary and reasonable that the company be honourably and frankly refunded, and that the nation do likewise add a considerable stock towards the support and strengthening this fund for foreign trade, but, considering the present circumstances and dispositions of men and things, it would be a wise and politic constitution of this fund, for the nation even to be at the risk of the principal money of that part of the stock belonging to particular men, so as only the interest of forbearance should be at that of the proprietors thereof; that so by this means, those who are not willing, or are or may become unable, might not be so oppressed and harassed as hitherto, which hath not only been a grievous oppression to the parties concerned, but a mischievous clog and dead weight on the company in all their proceedings.

But perhaps to this it may be objected, that, if liberty were given, every one would be for fetching out his stock, and so leaving the country to be alone concerned.

But to this it may be answered, That were this fund left so precarious that every one might transfer their stock, and have it back again at their pleasure, at a current rate, there might be some ground for this objection, since in such a case there would

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be high demands of stock, when the company should be successful, or they and the council of trade wanted not money, whilst upon every emergency, and when the countenance and assistance of private men should be most wanted, it would be least found. But, as this is proposed, the effect would be quite otherwise, since, when once a man transfers his stock, he can never have it back, but if he will have more must buy of another, so that this will only open a convenient door for a few necessitous or discontented people, either to sell their stock without loss, or at least get their money back again in the method proposed. And all this perhaps will hardly amount to above ten per cent. of the whole stock, and as these discontented people have already been no small trouble, clog, and perplexity to the company and their proceedings, so, if they should now be left to sell to loss, this would be a means to continue and entail these kind of discontents and uneasy people on the company, at least during the infancy thereof, if not to after time.

As this method will open a creditable door to let out discontented people, so it will render the remainder much more fixed and steady than it could otherwise be; since every one will endeavour to keep and transfer to his posterity a concern, where he has a prospect of gain by trade, only from the risk of the interest or forbearance of his capital—the reputation and conveniency whereof, if there be anything of a reasonable management, will always keep it up above the principal money. And as all these public funds are, if it may be so expressed, as so many barriers to licence, and as so much security given by a nation against a revolution of government, so this will be of that quality in a very particular manner; the which advantages will naturally render it one of the best contrived and most convenient funds of that kind and quantity in Europe.

Article 3. By the eighth article of the first proposal, the president and councillors of trade, nor any of them for the time they are such, may be capable of holding any place of profit or trust in the Government, or of receiving any pension, gift, or

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honour of his Majesty, that their time and thoughts may be wholly employed and taken up as councillors of trade, without having or being capable of any other office, place, or dependence whatsoever. By which we see, that they are not only debarred from accepting any new office, honour, or pension, whilst they are such, but even those who shall be possessed of any place of profit or trust, or that shall have any pension, and happen to be chosen councillors of trade, are hereby obliged to resign before he or they can be capable of entering upon this trust.

Considering which, and the great attendance and fatigue the councillors of trade will be obliged unto, and that, reasonably speaking, no money can be so well bestowed as upon these, who have the chief care and management of the business, since it is only that which may properly be said to render all the rest effectual, three hundred pounds sterling per annum salary is doubtless too little, but it ought to be considered that it is not only proposed thus low, as being in the beginning of the business, but to leave room for the bounty of his Majesty and the estates, upon receiving and perusing their reports at every meeting of the Parliament; since suitable and honourable gratuities upon such occasions will doubtless be thought a wise and politic institution, when it shall be considered that the less or more happiness of government, and even of human society, is naturally founded in the due and equal distribution of reward and punishment,—perhaps, nicely speaking, not punishment and reward, but reward and punishment, for certainly not only the due distribution, but even the disposing and placing of these, is of no small consequence to those who would incline men to virtue. It is likely such kind of gratuities, when brought in use, will hardly be worth less than 100*l.*, or more than 200*l.* per annum in a medium; but, whatever the quantity of these gratuities may be. the very nature of them will be capable of stirring up men, more than three times as much, almost any other way; since here will not only be point of profit, but a very singular point of honour

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in the case, by which men will be naturally stirred up and prompted, if possible, to gain more respect, or at least as much as others have done before them. Yet notwithstanding, when this institution shall come to be fully settled, and in so hopeful a way as may be justly expected in five or six years after the establishment thereof, it may be very reasonable and necessary to augment these salaries, it may be, to near if not quite double what they are proposed to be at present; and, doubtless, were these salaries doubled, they might, with the gratuities, be sufficient for men in such stations, so long as the money shall continue to bear anything like the present proportion it now does to other things.

Article 4. It is, doubtless, requisite that the electors of the council of trade should have their travelling charges and expenses to and at their several yearly meetings for elections, since this will tend to the making their meetings more full and the keeping of things upon a right foot and bias, and consequently, as has been said, towards making the rest the more effectual.

Article 5. It is likewise highly reasonable that a sum of 2,000*l.* sterling per annum at least should by Parliament be appropriated for allowances for the attendance of the directors, members of the council-general, and committees; and that also upon the reports from time to time, by them to be made, of the state of the company's affairs and proceeding to his Majesty and Estates of Parliament, honourable gratuities and acknowledgments, as the case may require, should be made and given as encouragements to the directors; and it may likewise be necessary that this allowance for attendance should be doubled, so soon as it shall please God that the company's affairs shall become prosperous and flourishing;—since all who understand such sort of things must needs allow that no part of a company's or a public stock can be so well bestowed as upon reasonable allowances to such as attend the management; and that, although there is reason to believe that hardly ever any attendance was better and more punctual where money has not been allowed than those of

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the directors, councils-general, and committees of the company have hitherto been, yet it would not be hard to make it appear that had the company, from the very beginning, allowed double the annual sum here proposed, as an encouragement for attendance, they might thereby have been considerable gainers.

The reduction of the number of the directors to that of twenty will also be very necessary, that the company's affairs may as little as possible be liable to the raw and giddy influence of nominal and honorary directors, whose time, temper, or business, may not, or cannot, allow of their due and orderly attendance.

Of the twenty directors proposed, three may always be supposed to be of the council of trade, five for the committee of foreign affairs, who may continue during the whole year; and the other twelve, by a rotation of three quarterly, may be the ordinary committees in waiting or attendance.

The annual rotation of one of four of the directors will likewise tend to the keeping up a more vigorous and industrious management, breed up a double number of persons to the business, keep the control better and more severe than it could possibly otherwise be, and yet neither the company, nor those who shall signalise themselves in their service, will be anything so floating, precarious, and uncertain, as by an annual election of the whole.

On Proposal 4, *Article* 1. The powers proposed for the council of trade are only such as will be natural and suitable to their work, nor can they be prejudicial to or give reasonable umbrage to any, unless some scruples should be made with relation to the power of Admiralty. But to this it may be answered, that since his grace the Duke of Lennox is now hereditary lord high admiral of this kingdom, and the right honourable the Earl of Argyle is admiral of a great part of the western coast, which are powers and prerogatives not any way fit for subjects, excepting only such as are at the same time entrusted with the immediate care and protection of trade, so if the council of trade shall be empowered to give sufficient equivalents to these parties

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concerned, his Majesty's prerogative does not at all seem to be lessened thereby.

But if it shall still be insisted on in behalf of his Majesty, that, although it may be reasonable enough to give these hereditary admirals equivalents for their pretensions, yet it will not beseem the royal Majesty for any subject to have the right of commanding the naval force without direct appointment and control from the king, this may easily be solved by a proviso in the Act of Parliament empowering the council of trade to accept of and execute the office of lord high admiral when and as often as they shall be thereunto appointed and commissioned by his Majesty, his heirs or successors; it being justly supposed that the nature of the thing will sufficiently incline the kings and queens of this realm from time to time to commit this power to the council of trade.

Article 6. Unjust and unequal punishments do not only involve all those concerned in the legislation and execution in guilt and blood, but they are always most ineffectual for the ends proposed; for in all ages, countries, and places of the world, the more cruel and sanguinary the laws the more barbarous and numerous the rapines and murders. And this is not at all to be wondered at, since not only the wellbeing but the very being of things are altogether founded in justice and right, since the root and spring of this is not at all from time but from eternity, and "that justice and righteousness is the basis of Jehovah's throne and dominion." *

And as these things are so plain, not only from reason but even the practice thereof, how strange must it be not only to find men who lay claim to a share of common sense and reason, but even not a few of those who pretend to be Christians, expecting the success and duration of their laws, constitutions, and governments, further than they have regard to, or quadrate with, justice and equity, and that they answer "that standard and measure of righteousness, the holy and blessed law of God?" †

* Psalm lxxxix. 14, and xcvii. 2. † Isaiah viii. 20.

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If those who are concerned in the making or executing of unjust and unequal laws would be but serious in matters of such weight as truth and justice are, they might easily be convinced of the true reasons not only of the weakness but pernicious consequences of all these laws, which have rather been the effects of men's passions and appetites than of their reason, and have proceeded from violent humours and prejudices rather than from any due respect to justice and right.

We in this nation have had our part of experience both of the weakness and pernicious consequences of unjust and bloody laws, and particularly in this matter of the punishment of theft; for had the laws with relation to this been as much founded on reason and due consideration as they have been in that of passion, prejudice, and violence, they would not only have been much more effectual, but the nation had been free of the guilt and blood in which by this means it hath been involved.

But since it is the part of these observations chiefly to insist on the temporal or political reasons of things, as treating only of matters relating to trade and improvements in this world, we shall not here enlarge further on what is more spiritual in the matter of justice and right than as an introduction to what of this nature shall follow, to lay it down as a fundamental maxim, that whatever things may, in the times or intervals of their flying from one extremity to another, seem good to poor, weak, and short-sighted mortals; and however our hearts may be hardened, or our eyes blinded so as not to see or understand the nature, course, nor the end thereof, yet certainly that which is most just in its nature is also most beneficial, not only in respect of the world to come, but even in respect of this; and that of this justice the blessed law of God is the standard and rule.

Now as the punishment hereby designed for theft is agreeable to this law, so it is self-evident that it will not only be very effectual but likewise beneficial to the public, since the thief* will be hereby obliged to restore fourfold, and to work at hard labour for

* Exodus xxii. 1—4.

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the space of three years; and if he have not to satisfy for the theft, then to be condemned for any time not exceeding six years more; whereby, considering the common strength of body of these kind of people and the work they may be employed in, they may be capable of gaining little less if not more than five shillings per week per head one with another,—about eighteen pence per head whereof may go to their subsistence, and the rest to be equally divided between the party injured and the council of trade. Thus in nine years' time a sum of eighty pounds sterling, or upwards, may be gained by the thief, or at least by the mass of them in a medium, for or towards satisfaction for the theft, besides the advantage the nation will have in having its people preserved and its industry increased thereby.

But if such as are nice in the matter of the law of God should object against that part of the punishment that extends to condemnation of the thief to three years' hard labour, even after he or she shall have made a fourfold satisfaction for the theft, to this it may be answered that this condemnation to work is not on account of the party injured, who is supposed by the restitution to have full satisfaction, but altogether on the account of the state, which no doubt is naturally obliged, and by the institution of this national economy will only take the due and necessary care to see all its subjects well and duly employed. Indeed, were this space of three years proposed for a much longer time, it might be hard; but, since the time is so short that less can hardly be supposed sufficient to reduce such a sort of dissolute people from their habit of sloth and idleness to that of industry,—to unlearn them their trade of thievery, and learn them another which, instead of being destructive to both, is profitable to themselves and the public, it cannot in justice be thought otherwise than very easy, and even inclinable to the right, if there be any side in justice, that is to say, to moderation and mercy.

But if, on the other hand, it shall be objected that some of these thieves will be so stubborn that there will be no breaking them with this work, to this it may be likewise answered, that,

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considering the several sorts of hard and strong labour the council of trade will naturally have for many hundreds if not for some thousands of people, some of which work will be of such a nature as no man can endure for many years, or perhaps months together, we need not doubt but they will be sufficiently in a condition to tame and humble the stoutest and wildest of these thieves and vagabonds.

And thus by this institution our country, instead of being in this case cruel to her young as hitherto, will become capable of being a tender and indulgent mother; and, instead of not only losing her children but contracting the guilt of their blood, she may be put in a condition of reaping good fruit from their labours; and afterward, as they return to their duty, of receiving them with open arms. By this means it may be justly hoped that in a few years there will not be one-twentieth part of the malefactors, crimes, or criminals of that kind to be found that there is at this day.

Article 7. Bribery, cheating, designed cheating, wilful bankruptcy, and fraud are likewise theft, and, so far from being a lesser or inferior degree thereof, they are the worst and most heinous of all; since these not only break and violate the public faith and trust equally with the other, but likewise the more peculiar ties and obligations among men, and thereby undermine the very foundation of human society and commerce. So that it seems strange that those who first invented the hanging of thieves did not begin with this sort first, and makes it justly to be suspected that this sort of fraudulent thieves, who are not only the most politic and potent, but generally the most numerous of all, might have the first and principal hand in this in all the countries where it has been introduced, and might raise all this dust against this lesser and more skulking sort of pilferers, that by this means they, the more modish and fashionable thieves, might be the harder to be discovered, and escape the better in the crowd.

However it be, since it is certain that this sort of thieves are

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of the whole the greatest pests of human society, if any deserve harder usage than others, surely it ought to be they; but there being no difference made by the rule of righteousness, we shall only say "that, as there ought not to be any respect of persons in judgment, where the poor should not be countenanced or pitied because of his poverty, nor the rich respected or honoured because of his wealth or power," * so, if a government resolves in good earnest to encourage honesty and virtue, and discountenance the contrary by their examples of justice, as well as otherwise, there is no doubt but one example of a potent thief, especially if he be of this sort, will contribute more towards "the people's hearing and fearing, and doing so no more," † than that of a hundred sheep-stealers, shop-lifters, and such like. Generally speaking, since the design of the law is equally to hinder the great thieves from hanging the little ones, or from interceding for or protecting one another, and since here is no man's blood taken, since the punishment is so just and easy, and that here is no such bar or tache as either to hinder or discourage a thief of any sort from returning to his duty, it is hoped that if this constitution be once set on foot there shall no more thieves, of what sort or quality soever, be suffered to escape the punishment, and that it shall become a discredit little less than that of the theft itself so much as to intercede to this purpose. And when things shall be thus carried we shall soon see both the number of the crimes and criminals diminish, and come to be as seldom as now they are frequently found or heard of.

As the hanging of thieves in all countries where practised, hath been found to be a destructive and unsuccessful piece of cruelty, so is the confounding the fraudulent debtor, which is one of the worst sort of thieves, and the poor and honest debtor together. By the law of God, creditors are so far from having a right to bury the persons of their poor unhappy debtors in prisons that they might not take from them anything which was necessary for their subsistence or support; for thus it is written, viz.: "When

* Exod. xxix. 3; Levit. xix. 15. † Deut. xix. 20.

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thou lendest thy brother the loan of anything, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge, thou shalt stand abroad, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring the pledge abroad unto thee: and if the man be poor thou shalt not sleep with his pledge; in any case thou shalt deliver him the pledge again when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own raiment and bless thee: and it shall be righteousness unto thee before the Lord thy God."*

And we have not only this negative in the case, but likewise an affirmative in the following terms: "If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren within any of thy gates in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother; but thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need in that which he wanteth. Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, 'the seventh year, the year of release, is at hand,' and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought, and he cry unto the Lord against thee, and it be sin unto thee. Thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him, because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and in all thou puttest thine hand unto: for the poor shall never cease out of the land, therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor and to thy needy in thy land."†

So that those who imprison poor debtors in whom there is not found any fraudulent design, are guilty of breaking two several commands at one and the same time; and not only so, but this is directly against one of the fundamental petitions of the prayer of every Christian; and ought it not to be wondered at that any of those who call themselves Christians, should not only by their lives, but even by their laws, so strangely contradict their precepts, and even their very prayers?

* Deut. xxiv. 10—14. † Deut. xv. 7—12.

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As this practice is directly opposite to the law of God, so is it of a most destructive nature in itself, since hereby honest men are not only made liable to the same fate, but even put in a worse condition than the worst sort of thieves. The thief often takes care to secure enough both to maintain his family, if he have one, and for himself to live plentifully in prison or in the place of his retirement, whereas the honest man and his family must either starve, or at least be in danger of starving; so that one and the same procedure opens a door to let the guilty escape, and to oppress the innocent. Besides the mischievous consequence of this to commerce in general, by proving a shelter and loophole for thieves, and a temptation and discouragement to men who are reduced to low or desperate circumstances from being just to their creditors to the best of their power, it brings a great deal of blood and guilt on a land, and renders a great number of people, who might be both useful and beneficial to the public, and in a hopeful way of doing at least somewhat towards discharging their debts, not only useless, but an insufferable burthen to their country.

Article 8. This eighth article brings us to a third sort of thieves, which is that idle and dissolute people called beggars; for, although they be somewhat more tame and familiar with us, yet are they really but another sort of thieves. By this we mean only such as make begging the whole or any part of their trade or business; for there is no doubt that one man not only may but has a right to beg or desire a favour of another in a strait, in a difficulty, or upon an emergency, as appears plainly by the discourse on the last article; whilst that any sort of men should make this their business, or any part thereof, is not only contrary to justice, but to all good order among men. And, indeed, it is wonderful to think that ever anything that looks like, or pretends to be, a government of men, but especially of Christians, who at least pretend to be the best and wisest sort of them, should allow such a disorder to human societyas a professed trade of begging; especially since, as we have said, people and their industry

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are not only the truest and most solid riches of a prince or state, but, in comparison with them, all other things are only imaginary.

Instead of so great good as the world had just reason to expect from these governments commonly called Christian, in the matter of due care and good order among men, and even improvement of human society, beyond what it could possibly attain to in heathendom, we are sorry there is occasion to say, that, although there might be some few of this sort of thieves skulking up and down in all ages and in all times of the world, yet certainly this trade of begging or beggary was never introduced in form, but by and together with the corruption of the Christian religion, in some of whose countries it is come to that height, that begging is not only accounted a credit, but even a piece of devotion. (App. K K.)

As the rooting out this evil would be one of the greatest and best pieces of service that could possibly be done to a country, so certainly it is no easy matter. If, as some have advised, a law were made to reduce these dissolute people back again to slavery, as with the ancient heathens, in such a case only the strongest and ablest of them would be taken up by particular men, and still the weakest and most helpless would be left to starve, or be miserable in themselves and a dead weight on the industry of others, so that the evil might thereby be somewhat lessened and abated, but far enough from being rooted out. From this consideration, and even from the thing as it appears in the practice in those countries where one man is made another's property, it may reasonably be presumed that nothing less than a national institution with these or the like powers and means can ever effectually redress this disorder. This is not only plain in the reason thereof, but likewise in the practice, since in Holland, several of the Hanse towns, and other places of Europe, it is only by institutions and funds expressly adapted and applied that, nationally speaking, people are found capable of being broken off from their habits of idleness and sloth.

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But this is not only the most probable way of rooting out beggary and sloth, but, considering the nature of these proposals, and the dependence the things have upon one another, this will be the most profitable method that has hitherto or perhaps can be proposed;—since by this means the whole, whether they be more or less capable, will be equally taken care of and comfortably and wholesomely maintained, and every one who is able to do anything, of what nature soever, will here find his work ready provided for him; and although there is no manner of doubt but they will be a raw and untoward crew at first, yet in time they may be brought into such a method, and put upon such a train of business, as will make it very easy to keep them in order.

By what has been done in the like cases elsewhere, it may reasonably be expected that, in less than four years after the settlement of this institution, there need not be a beggar or other vagabond left in the kingdom; and in six or seven years the work of the more able of these people may be brought to be very near, if not quite, sufficient to subsist the whole mass of them, insomuch, that, after this, the voluntary charities, together with the product of their own work, may be sufficient, if not more than enough, for their maintenance. By voluntary charity we understand only such as comes to be offered or given by the parties freely, and without being moved thereunto by any particular solicitation, or object of their compassion.

Now for the better and more particular understanding of the benefit this kingdom may receive by the employment of its poor, and promoting and supporting the industry of its people as proposed by this constitution, it may be necessary to take notice that, as in the observations on equal taxing, the consumption of this kingdom is supposed to be about 3,400,000*l.* sterling per annum, and the number of the people to be 600,000—that one-fourth part, or about 150,000 of this number, consume above one-half of this general expense, or about 1,800,000*l.* or near 4*s.* 8*d.* sterling per week per head; and that the remainder or other three-fourths of this mass of people do not spend above

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1,600,000*l.* per annum, or a little more than 16*d.* per week per head; so it may be probably conjectured that one-third, or about 150,000, of these may spend about 21*d.* sterl. per week, and that another third may be subsisted at about 16*d.* per week, but that the last third or number of 150,000 are a sort of people who we may venture to say do little more than half live, and do not, one with another, spend above 11*d.* per week per head;—that the two middle sorts by their industry do not only provide their own maintenance, but likewise contribute the greatest share of that of both the other extremes;—that the people of this lowest extreme, although, as has been said, they little more than half live, yet at least one-half of this is contributed by others; and, if we might venture again to distinguish these lowest sort of people from one another, we should suppose that one-third, or 50,000 of them, do not gain above two-thirds of their subsistence, the other third not above one-half, and that the remainder do but gain one-third of their expense, so as the whole deficiency may amount to the sum of 168,750*l.*

Upon considering the reasons of these conjectures, and comparing them with a foregoing computation, whereby we have supposed the nation to be at an expense of 135,000*l.* sterl. per annum towards maintenance of their poor, we are inclined to believe that the poor of this kingdom do not in direct expense stand the nation in less than a sum of 135,000*l.* nor perhaps in much more than this sum of about 170,000*l.* But it is to be observed that in this expense we reckon not only what is given in money, but likewise what is given in any other way, since there is nothing can be contributed to their relief but must have a value, let that value be more or less.

Now by this institution the nation will not only be eased of all this expense, excepting only the voluntary charities, which can hardly be supposed to amount to one-fifth part thereof, but these people who live but at the rate of ten or eleven pence per week, or some at that of less, will be naturally brought in a small time to live at the rate of sixteen pence per week, one with another.

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It is likewise to be observed, that, although there be here supposed to be 150,000 people, who less or more are a burthen or dead weight on others, yet there will perhaps never be above a fifth part, if so many, of those come to be liable to the public works, or under the direct care of the council of trade, since this institution will naturally give life, support, and encouragement to the industry of the whole kingdom, which, all things considered, may be presumed will be nearer twenty than ten times what shall be under their immediate care and direction.

The encouragement and support that will thereby be given to the industry of the nation may, with anything of a management, be reasonably supposed in five or six years' time to bring this mass of 450,000 people to be able to consume a third part more, or at the rate of two shillings per week one with another; by which time it may likewise be hoped they may begin to be in a condition of laying up somewhat in national store.

Thus, by this institution, the nation may not only be eased of a dead weight of more than one hundred thousand pounds sterling yearly of direct expense, but these people, who are now the greatest burthen to the industry of the kingdom, may be made its principal support, and those who are now the great and principal means of our poverty may become the chiefest cause of our wealth, for these are the hands that must put all that we have before spoken of in motion;—and it is only in proportion to their number or capacities that things can be undertaken and done, and therefore as before this institution be introduced it might properly enough be said we have too many people, yet then we shall be found to have too few.

From all which, and much more that might be said on this head, it may be reasonably concluded, that, with relation to society, as an industrious man is naturally the most beneficial creature that is or can be in or to the world, so the sluggard is not only a burden to himself, for lazy people take always most pains, but even to the earth he moves on, and to mankind in general, of whom he pretends to be a part; and that in all societies, whether

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great or small, those who bear rule are highly obliged and deeply concerned, both in justice and interest, to provide convenient and sufficient work and subsistence for those committed to their care, and both by example and correction to oblige them to be industrious.

Article 14. The use and acceptance of gold and silver in exchange for other things was at first and originally introduced into the world by the common consent of men, wherein the quantity or value was not considered or distinguished by marks or names, but by weight and fineness; and therefore we find, when Abraham bought the field of Ephron, he weighed four hundred shekels of silver current money with the merchant;* but in process of time, and when trade began to extend itself through many and remote countries, to make the receipts and payments of gold and silver more easy, certain marks, stamps, or numbers, to signify the weight and fineness thereof, were devised to be put upon the several pieces; and at first these marks were put by some of the principal moneyers or traders themselves, and had a currency, at least so far as they were known or had a reputation; since, however, the public of a country was not only better known, but supposed to be less subject to fraud, therefore the putting these marks or making these certifications was naturally and of course referred to the care and trust of princes or states. But, as with other sorts of bankrupts, so it is but too often with bankrupt states; when by ill courses they are reduced to straits and difficulties, they commonly forsake the profitable as well as laudable measures of truth and justice, and betake themselves to indirect shifts and little tricks, among which the diminishing, debasing, or altering the denomination of the current money hath sometimes been one.

This purloining trick of state, which opened a door for depraving, both as to matter and measure, those species which, by the consent of men in most places of the world, are agreed to be the common standard and measure of all other things, was introduced with the destruction of the Roman empire by the Goths,

* Gen. xxiii. 16.

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Vandals, and other barbarous northern nations. This was through the craft of the Jews and Lombards of those days, who making use of the ignorance of the times and the necessities of several paltry princes under whom they lived, to their own particular advantage, but to the inexpressible prejudice of the general commerce, persuaded those princes, and not a few among the giddy and unthinking crowd, that the giving their money another or better name would increase its value.

As to many others, so this unaccountable conceit has been very prejudicial to this nation; and, although we see at this day that the pound sterling in England, the livre in France, the guilder in Holland and other places, and the pound Scot here, which were originally near if not quite the same thing, are not a penny the better for their different names, but so far the worse, as they create an uncertainty and difficulty in commerce,—yet we find another alteration of our money in the year 1686, by which our pound sterling is debased or sunk to about eight and a third per cent. below that of the English value; which alteration has ever since, besides other disadvantages, been a sensible addition to the imposition upon this kingdom in the matter of exchange. But since any alteration in money, which way soever it be, is a real loss to a country, whether the reducing the standard back again to what it was, or fixing where it now is, would be least prejudicial to the nation, is a question not easily determined, and of which a council of trade, after due inquiry and examination of the matters of fact relating thereunto, will be the best and most capable judges.

The alterations, confusions, or uncertainties in the moneys or in the weight and measures of a country, although they be of the most insensible, yet they are of the most pernicious, consequences to trade and commerce. In the matter of money we may have some prospect of the quantity and nature of the mischief, if we consider that in most countries the current moneys do not exceed one-twentieth part of the other effects, so that any imposition or difficulties on the moneys doth not only directly affect this

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one, but likewise the other nineteen parts whereof it is the measure and standard; whereas, when impositions, alterations, or difficulties happen unto or come upon any other part of the stock or effects of a country, it chiefly affects that part only where it directly falls or lies; from which it may be reasonably concluded that whatever the present French king raised by his late impositions on the alterations of money, hath done at least ten times the prejudice to France that the sums conld have done when raised another way; but this, by being often done in that kingdom, has gained credit by time and frequent practice, and we know conceits thus acquired and rooted are not easily parted with, even by particular men, and much less by nations.

The money of this kingdom, which is in weight and fineness under the standard, has certainly done more mischief annually to the nation for several years last past, not only than all the loss would be in crying it down, and the expense of recoining thereof, but perhaps than the very nominal value of all that kind of specie; so it is reasonably proposed to be called in and recoined, the loss whereof will be but very inconsiderable, and this but for once, and perhaps will fall as easily and equally on the possessors of this specie as any other way it could be raised.

The laws prohibiting the exportation of money are also very pernicious to a country, and have just a contrary effect to what is at least pretended to be designed by them, which is to keep the money in the country; since, besides the other prejudices this naturally brings to trade, which are too many here to enumerate, in our particular it is the main cause of the grievous loss we are commonly at in the exchange.

Now, for clearer light in this matter, it ought to be considered that, abating accidents, which happen but seldom and are inconsiderable in the whole, there are but three things which can naturally occasion loss by exchange, or therein receiving less than the real value of the money of a country, that is to say, the supposed expense of carriage from the different places, the supposed risk or the hazard of this conveyance, and the use or interest for

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the forbearance of this money for the time it is supposed to be lying out; and that all these three together, reasonably speaking, between this and London, can hardly amount to above three per cent. at most; so that at the highest the hundred pounds in London ought never to exceed one hundred and eleven and a third, or thereabouts, here at Edinburgh.

Now, if from thence it shall be asked how and from what reasons then does our exchange come to rise to our prejudice, even to fifteen, sixteen, and sometimes much higher?—to this it may be answered, that this likewise comes by three things, of which we ourselves are the cause: as 1st. by the uncertainty of our money in general since the alteration in the year 1686; 2nd. by the corruption of some of our coin in particular; but, in the third place, especially and above all, by the restraint on the exportation; for we may be sure the merchant, exchanger, or moneyer considers of and puts a value upon all these things.

So that this threadbare shift of restraint is so far from hindering the exportation, as pretended, that, besides its other inconveniences, which are more insensible, on the one hand it encourages, and even forces, not only the exportation but real loss of as much as foreigners get of what we are imposed upon in the exchange on that account, as likewise as much as we are obliged to pay to them for running the real specie when it is found necessary to carry it out; and, on the other hand, it hinders the importation of any gold or silver but what must by some necessity or other be brought in, since we may be sure nobody would wish his money, no more than his person, in a prison; and need not doubt but money, as well as men, inclines to be where best used, and under least retraint; and that as trade, and the measure thereof, is originally and naturally founded in the common consent of men, so it ever was and will be capable of being hedged out, but never of being hedged in, by restraints, coercions, and prohibitions.

On Proposal, Article 5th. By what we have been able to learn, the exportations and importations are not above one-eleventh part, or but as one is to ten, of the value of the rest of the

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industry of this kingdom; and, considering the influence duties and difficulties on the navigation of a country have upon all the other parts of the industry and improvements thereof, it may be reasonably concluded that whatever part of the customs, or other duties, lies upon this part of our industry, may be near if not quite as heavy upon the improvement of this kingdom as ten times so much raised on the consumption; and therefore it is that by this fifth proposal all duties and impositions, excepting one per cent. of the value by the name of entry money, is proposed to be taken off from the exportations in general, as also from the importation of all such growths, products, goods, and merchandises as can be manufactured or meliorated, or shall not be consumed in this kingdom; but that, on the contrary, all foreign liquors, and other goods and merchandises consumed in this kingdom, may pay double the impositions they now do.

By this means the nation will be equivalent to a free port, since the weight of the duties will effectually be taken from the industry and put upon the consumption, where they naturally ought to lie; and yet, considering that the duties on the consumption will be doubled, and the life and encouragement this will give to navigation, whatever may happen for two or three years till things be settled, yet upon the whole his Majesty's revenue, instead of being prejudiced, will be considerably benefited thereby.

By this means we may not only be capable of giving solid encouragement to our manufactures at home, but the superfluities of the one part of the nation might prudently be brought to contribute considerably towards the expense of protecting and supporting the industry of the other part thereof; and, instead of being further shackled, the nation might be freed from the pernicious consequences of these invidious courses, or rather shifts, of restraints and prohibitions, which never did, nor possibly can, answer the proposed ends, but, on the contrary, are in their very nature the most pernicious lets and impediments to the regular course of industry, and the due correspondence and commerce of nations; and by which, instead of enlarging and in-

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creasing our correspondence abroad, we should put ourselves in a state of enmity with all or most trading nations; and not only so, but most part of the little shipping we have still remaining, and of the few people we have yet in business, would be put quite out of their bias, since we should hereby disable them from one trade before we learned or provided them with another. By multiplying of oaths, searches, dangers, and difficulties upon what foreign and domestic trade should be still left, it will be quite wrung out of the hands of honest and capable men, and abandoned to such designing and intriguing knaves as can, or rather will, afford us, not their goods and merchandises, but their oaths and perjuries, at the lowest price.

But, it is hoped, these and the like mischievous consequences to the trade of the kingdom in general, and to his Majesty's revenue in particular, will be prevented by the establishing of a council of trade, which, having both the power and means not only to deliver the nation from the danger of these new fetters, but likewise from the weight and entanglements of the old,—the more and deeper they enter upon due examination and scrutiny of these or the like things, the more they will naturally find that it is not by little shifts or tricks, but by downright diligence and industry, that the trade of a country can be supported or improved.

Since the farming the customs and foreign excise is in the nature of the thing not only of pernicious consequence to the trade, but, whatever it may seem from the screwing things up to an extremity for a time, yet certainly at long run it is likewise hurtful to that revenue of his Majesty,—therefore, by the sixth article of this proposal, the present farm or tack thereof is proposed to be broken, that the said customs or foreign excise may not be hereafter let to farm.

If the foreign trade of this kingdom should come to be settled as here proposed, a new book of rates, or at least considerable alterations in the old, might be necessary; the regulating and adjusting whereof may be proper work for a council of trade.

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On Proposal 6.—Since by this loose and irregular tie of the union of the crowns without the addition of that of the hearts, hands, industry, and civil interest of these nations, this kingdom has not only been deprived of the imperial seat of its government, but therewith lost the ordinary means of countenancing and protecting its foreign trade by naval force, ambassadors, residents, and such like,—therefore, as much as possible to supply this natural defect, it is hereby proposed that an artificial security be formed upon the customs and foreign excise, which was, is, and in the nature of the thing ought only and chiefly to be, granted and settled for the protection and security of foreign trade.

And, considering our late usage and present circumstances, it might not be unreasonable to expect that this fund should be extended to the insurance of the ships and effects of this kingdom even from the dangers and accidents of war; but since this might at one time or other be a real and considerable prejudice to that revenue, or give umbrage or dissatisfaction to his Majesty, it is therefore not insisted upon, but only proposed that this fund may for the future remain as a security against such ungrateful, and more than barbarous, treatment as this nation has lately met with from, or at least on the account or by reason of, some of its superb and disdainful neighbours; and since it is hoped that such infractions will never again be repeated:—therefore, although what is here desired may be a solid and satisfactory security to his subjects, yet can it not be any real or sensible loss or hazard to his Majesty.

On Proposal 7.—By the introduction to this, as likewise in the reasons upon the seventh and eighth articles of the second proposal, we have touched upon the particular advantages to and the advancement of his Majesty's revenue by this institution and fund; to which it may be added, that the establishment hereof will be the most effectual means of avoiding the pernicious effects of these restraints and prohibitions, by which the little trade and industry yet remaining, and therewith his Majesty's

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revenue, is in danger of receiving an irreparable loss and prejudice.

And since his Majesty's revenue is, all things considered, not only capable of receiving proportionable, but even greater advantages by this institution, than the other effects of this nation, these small and precarious branches thereof, proposed by the fourth and ninth articles of the second proposal to be appropriated to this fund, will hardly amount to his Majesty's share of this national stock. Considering which, and that these smaller revenues will naturally be capable of yielding near if not quite double the advantage to the council of trade they can to his Majesty, and yet be easier to the subject than hitherto, with the glory his Majesty will have, and the interest he will gain in the affections of his people, in contributing his part to this fund, and therewith towards repairing the losses of the company and nation in their late attempt at foreign trade,—we say, considering these things together, this will be found so far from being a loss, that it is capable of being one of the wisest, most politically advantageous, and beneficial concessions that was ever made by a prince.

And as we have ventured to say that it would be his Majesty's interest not only to concur in, but even frankly and generously to contribute to, this or the like national institutions; so, on the other hand, prudence and discretion, as well as duty and gratitude, ought to incline all those who are or shall be well-wishers to this design, and therewith to their country, in the first proposing and in the whole progress thereof to use their utmost endeavours towards rendering it worthy of our sovereign's gracious inclination and royal regard to take care that his revenue, instead of receiving any prejudice or diminution, may rather be augmented, or at least increase in proportion to the good things his Majesty shall do or graciously concur in, for the retrieving our country and nation.

The natural as well as political concurrence of a prince is highly necessary, if not to the being, at least to the well-being, of

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such an infant design as this. His Majesty's hearty and cheerful countenance and royal favour are capable of giving great life, vigour, and tranquillity to an affair of this nature; whereas the least coldness or dissatisfaction can hardly fail of having quite contrary effects. This constitution and these designs will doubtless be encountered with many and heavy discouragements and difficulties, but especially in their infancy and beginnings; and if to these natural obstacles, which we may reasonably expect, that of a struggle in our constitution should be added, there could be but little hope of good success, even under better circumstances of things, or dispositions and qualifications of men, than we can at present pretend unto.

The more things of this nature are suited and rendered agreeable to all the parts of the constitution of a country, the more they may be expected to be successful, durable. and happy; but especially, both as to matter and manner, they ought to be made as acceptable and easy to the prince as possible, and not so much as seem to be wrested from him; since the least discouragement of the sovereign in such an affair as this will be apt to recoil, and lie heavy upon the improvement and progress thereof.

Therefore those who would concern themselves to have the grievances of their country redressed, in order to their intended work, ought in the first place and especially to lay aside anything that shall but seem like anger, rancour, or resentment; since these passions do not only transport men beyond themselves, and divest them of their reason, but the very appearance thereof gives umbrage to the jealous, discouragement to the more unthinking, and opportunities and advantages to the more designing sort of men.

It is true in a case like that of ours it is no easy matter to compose the mind and govern the passions. Our late unaccountable usage at London, at Hamburg, and in the Indies, the long palliating thereof, and the delay of justice herein, are things hardly to be borne; but, whatever the nature of our treatment or the aggravations may have been, the sense we ought to have of our

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present condition, of our country, of posterity, religion, liberty, and all that is or can be dear to men or nations, ought to oblige us in this time of our adversity, distress, and danger to have recourse to the dictates of our reason, and not to give way to or indulge our passions, but to calm and compose our minds, so as to become capable of advising about and thinking of a remedy or redress.

We ought to consider, that, as rage and reason are opposite to the nature of one another, so revengeful resentment and redress always were and will ever be inconsistent; that by these means private men are not only brought in danger of losing their aims, but even princes and great men of losing their crowns and dignities; and that the true reason why popular complaints and struggles, although never so well and justly grounded, come so seldom to good, and so often to a great deal of mischief, is because men in such cases are ofttimes more apt to follow the dictates of their rage than of their reason, and rather inclinable to gratify their passions and appetites by the way, than heartily to pursue the public good they pretend unto.

In such times, or on such occasions, the two extremes—the over cold and the over warm dispositions of men—ought equally to be avoided, which, although they appear more different than the east from the west, yet, like other extremities, they are not only apt to beget, but by traversing of ground, or upon occasion, they are apt to be transformed into, one another.

This is not plainer or more frequent in anything than in state affairs. We, in this century, have seen a forty-one produce a sixty-one, and that again produce an eighty-eight; we have found by experience, that those who are violent in everything will be constant in nothing, and have had reason to know that angry men are never fit for business, but least of all in angry times.

How much, then, is every good patriot concerned equally to avoid the influence of those who may be for adjourning our present redress, and for doing nothing, or at least nothing to

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purpose, towards retrieving the low and distressed circumstances of our company and nation, and of those who may endeavour to disable us from doing of anything, by persuading us to grasp at everything, or, may be, for finding of many faults, and but few amendments; or who, from their being for keeping up and inflaming the present animosities and discontents, may be averse to prudent, moderate, and healing things. But, as those who are lovers of their country ought on this occasion to endeavour to be of a moderate, sedate, and healing temper, so they ought not to be for tampering with and palliating these matters, but for substantial and effectual things, and such as will be really satisfactory to the nation, but especially that the trade thereof, upon which the complaints of the last five years have been founded, may be fully settled, regulated, and secured, as being fundamental unto, and the only thing capable of furnishing us with regular means, and even dispositions, for all other reformations.

We ought not only to begin with trade, as the most fundamental to us in this kingdom, and to which we have the plainest and clearest call, but as our part of a thing that at this day is capable of making greater alterations in the world than the sword, and may best enable us to strengthen the hands of our King in this dangerous time, and put us in a condition of contributing our part to the defence and support of religion and liberty, instead of being what our oppressors seem to have designed, viz. their back door to let in mischief.

Although heaven and earth call upon us at this time to defend and vindicate our rights and liberties in particular, and to take effectual care that this kingdom may be under other and more tolerable circumstances with our neighbour nation in the next age than it hath been in this, yet the measures to be taken, even with relation to them, ought not to be inflaming, but healing, since we are embarked in one common cause—the defence of religion and liberty, where every good subject ought to play his part; let therefore our deportment in this matter be such as

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may be capable of convincing, that we are not only in the right in point of fact, but likewise in point of good conduct and management.

By this means we may justly expect to convince all the honest and unprejudiced part of mankind that the dust raised against us and our proceedings hath partly proceeded from the unwearied solicitations of self-seeking monopolists, who commonly measure the whole trade and extent of the improvement of the universe, not by the nature of the thing, but by their own narrow and abstracted notions, conceits, or circumstances; and partly from another sort of men, who are wonderful nice and dexterous at the making and finding of distinctions where they are not, but somewhat dull and heavy at finding them where they really are—namely, those men who have been, and it seems still are, able to distinguish, not only between the interests of kingdoms situate in the same island, under the same King, professing the same religion, speaking the same language, and (if the distinction-makers would let them) having the same inclinations for the public and common good, but even between the interests of sovereign princes and their subjects, and in which they have already had such success as to bring this their jest to good earnest, with relation to the interest of two of our Kings and their kingdoms; and all this within the memory of man.

Our wise and prudent conduct in this matter may be capable of convincing the good subjects of these nations, that the oppositions and treatment we have met with, have not only been a sensible and not easy to be repaired loss of this, but of these kingdoms; and that the influencing part of our opposers, at least in this case, have been no better patriots of the one nation than they are of the other.

They may thereby be convinced of the present as well as future advantage, and even necessity, there is of the just and equal addition of the hearts, hands, civil interest, and common care of these nations to this loose and irregular tie of the union of the crowns, and by this means removing the fatal handle by

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which evil-disposed persons of both kingdoms, in keeping up these very misunderstandings and animosities which it was hoped the union of the crowns would have taken away, have been so often enabled, not only to amuse and distract the people, clog and crush their industry, but not seldom to wound and greatly endanger public liberty, the which hath not been defended from their attempts, nor recovered from their snares, from time to time without a vast expense of blood and treasure.

The national proceedings of our neighbour kingdom have not seldom been bad preparatives to us, as ours have sometimes been to them,—May we now, then, be so happy as at this time to act like good patriots, not only of a part, but of the whole of these nations;—and may the proceedings of our present Parliament be such as may render us easy at home, and honoured and respected abroad.

May this Parliament, which, under his Majesty's gracious influence, ushered in the blessings of the late glorious Revolution,—the happy instrument of restoring our Church, the most valuable pledge of the civil as well as of the religious liberties of this nation;—that which hath put us into a condition not only of complaining when injured, but even of redressing of grievances in a legal way,—may this Parliament, in concurrence with his Majesty's gracious intentions, put the trade and industry of this kingdom on a prosperous and successful foot;—may it be blessed and honoured with laying the top stone, and finishing that glorious work so happily begun, so as for ever hereafter to merit the name of the prudent, the wise, the healing, and happy Parliament.

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MEMOIR

UPON

EXPEDITIONS AGAINST SPANISH AMERICA.

(MS. in the Long Collection, British Museum, Additional MS. No. 12,437.)

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

This memoir is annexed to a copy of a Petition to William III. of which no original with Paterson's signature has been found, nor any trace of it, in the usual repositories of such documents. The petition itself was probably delivered personally into his Majesty's hands, as was often practised in those days of less rigorous official severance from the sovereign than has grown up gradually from motives of convenience, although in principle the subject's right to the direct consideration of such appeals, by the crown, or its referee, is at present as strongly in force constitutionally as ever. That Paterson was the petitioner is plain; and the proceeding involved matters of policy which the King habitually directed himself. This was probably part of the confidential communications with William, of which so interesting an account is extracted in the Introduction from Paterson's letter of 1709 to the Earl Godolphin. The genuineness of that letter, which is clear of all doubt, guarantees the authenticity, and explains the authorship of the petition and memoir; and the latter must have been afterwards submitted to the Ministers of Queen Anne, as its principal aim—the attack upon Spanish America—was extensively pursued in the war that followed, although Central American colonisation and conquest were not carried out in the way proposed by Paterson. It would be highly satisfactory, in order to arrive at a correct estimate of the obscure few last months of King William's reign, if the contents of his "private cabinet" could be consulted on such points as that of the contemplated Western expeditions. (App. LL.) The merit of Paterson's combinations in 1701 will be estimated by a rapid survey of the various elements of resistance to the Scottish American enterprise to be overcome from the first. The English and Dutch Companies at home, and the planters in the older colonies, were alarmed, the former at the prospect of rival traders, the latter at the attraction of a new settlement to their people. The English generally feared that foreign commodities would find their way through the Scottish Company to the markets of Europe, and that smuggling in English products would be encouraged along the border, to the injury of the fair trader and the customs. The French had designs on Spanish America which would be quite defeated by the success of the Scotch settlers in Darien. The Spaniards were even less terrified at their probable loss of territory, then of scarcely appreciable importance, than at the proximity of the hated heretics, whose influence was already fatally known in all quarters, to the adherents to the Church of Rome. To

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strengthen these combined opposing circumstances came King William's unfortunate policy of 1697-8, when he wished to conciliate France at any price, and was planning the extraordinary treaties with Louis XIV. for the partition of the Spanish monarchy.

Notwithstanding this array of hostility, the Scotch would certainly have kept possession of their strong position if they had been ably led. Wafer told the Board of Trade, when describing that position, that half five hundred men might hold it safe against Spain; and the first Scotch expedition consisted of one thousand two hundred men, of whom many were experienced soldiers returned from the wars on the continent of Europe. The second expedition was commanded by Campbell of Finab, an able officer, who at first gained considerable advantages over the Spaniards in the interior of Darien, and had honourable armorial bearings afterwards appointed to his escutcheon in testimony of his bravery and conduct. It is clear such men could have made good their own against any forces Spain alone could have mustered. It is equally certain that the Indians were capable of being conciliated; whilst there is reason to doubt, whether any real opposition was to be apprehended from the English West Indian and North American colonists. Even the Governor of Jamaica was well disposed to the Scots. (App. LL 2).

With his wiser new views, King William now saw the value of the Company as instruments in his projected West Indian armaments. The Scotch, in fact, were then felt to be only pursuing an object in which the English strongly sympathised. The Spanish title to the exclusive possession of the West India Islands had never been acquiesced in even from the papal reign of Henry VII.; and their exclusive hold upon the Main—Terra Firma—was resisted by a far greater power among us than even that of the formidable Buccaneers at the highest of their influence. The cruel treatment of Raleigh by James I. at the instigation of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, left the bitterest regrets among a people who were proud of the accomplished seaman, as a glorious type of their race; and Milton's solemn arguments in Cromwell's war-manifesto against Spain overturned the whole superstructure of papal grants in America, where actual occupation did not consolidate discovery. In 1697, upon the occasion of the Scottish enterprise, the Board of Trade, with Locke on it, examined the Darien case to the bottom; and they concluded that the region was legitimately open to English occupation, whilst they were only indisposed to let the Scotch have it to our injury. They examined Wafer, who had lived four months in that country, and Dampier, respecting its character,—the Indians' rights and dispositions,—and the Spaniards' pretensions and possession. They were not without the advice of the most distinguished jurists, and their report is decisive against any concession to the Court of Madrid. (App. LL 8.)

Paterson was well aware of the prevalence of this disposition amongst English statesmen, and always looked with confidence for a change in their feelings against Scotland in regard to Darien.

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There are two special grounds for attributing this memoir to his pen: 1. Remarkable passages in it are the same in language and opinions with his known productions; 2. The subject of the whole work, and the principles upon which it is written, are identical with his objects in relation to Darien, as set forth in the authentic history of that settlement published by the Bannatyne Club from the original manuscripts in Edinburgh; and by Sir John Dalrymple, from the same source, in his Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Editor's study of Paterson arose out of the discovery of this memoir in the British Museum, when seeking information respecting the Scottish proceedings in Central America, in order to illustrate the history of early British relations with that region, and particularly in order to find any accounts the Scotch might have left concerning the passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific across the Isthmus of Darien. The document may be said to contain all they knew on the subject after having returned from the unfortunate settlement of Caledonia.

The memoir concludes with a notice of another official paper by Paterson on the Navy—a subject which he had many opportunities of carefully considering, and upon which his mechanical taste, as well as his nautical experience, must have well qualified him to form correct opinions. The famous naval name of Benbow as well as that of Lord Peterborough are associated with the plans of Spanish American conquest and settlement here proposed. Admiral Benbow died of his wounds in his last expedition to the West Indies; and Lord Peterborough's commission to command the land forces in that expedition was exchanged for a more brilliant field—the Spanish Peninsula. (App. MM.) An inconsiderable force was sent afterwards to the mines in the interior of Darien with some slight advantage; but no attempt was ever made by us in that quarter, the only traces of the Scottish American settlement being its name on the maps, and the bitter resentment long entertained in Scotland against the English authorities for their unjust and impolitic opposition.

The recent efforts to open a ship communication from Port Escoces to Darien were singularly injudicious and disastrous; and it is believed that our improved knowledge of the isthmus will lead to the selection of a channel from other points little appreciated in the seventeenth century. The geographical details, however, on the several lines of transit stated in this memoir are not without interest; and those details indicate the research of a diligent collector of other men's travels (which the Editor ventures to hold Paterson to have been), rather than the minute knowledge of the country which he would have possessed and displayed if he had frequented it as a Buccaneer.

The mistake, therefore, made in selecting the harbour called New Caledonia by the Scotch for the terminus of a passage to the Pacific, is a fresh proof that Paterson did not bear that character.

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It is certain that a ship-passage through the isthmus connecting North and South America was contemplated soon after Columbus and Cortez had failed to find the natural strait they looked for there. The Spanish government, under the influence of its spirit of commercial monopoly and religious intolerance, discouraged the work. In modern times the magnitude of that work has exceeded the means of any individual state; and local distractions, aggravated by the jealousies of foreign powers, have till recently made the indispensable combination of efforts to accomplish it, hopeless. But the wise treaty of Washington of April, 1850, violently as it has been attacked, will assuredly prove favourable to a happy solution of all the difficulties of this gigantic work, so worthy of enlightened statesmen. The present impartial policy of England and the United States must have the same good tendency.

The several lines of railway-transit, now proved by the spirit of the late Mr. Stephens and his colleagues, in the instance of that of Panama, to be of comparatively cheap and easy construction, will promote the knowledge of the whole region that is indispensable to the wise selection of the best ship-passage, whether it be at Tehuantepec, in Honduras, or up the Nicaragua, as some have asserted (App. NN), or on the north-western side of the Panama railroad, as others think (App. OO); or along one of the four rival lines in Darien which have their respective advocates: namely, the first and oldest near New Caledonia, as contemplated by the Scots; the second a few miles up the Atrato river, pointed out by Paterson; the third up the Napipi river to Cupica Bay, in regard to which Mr. Warburton had an engagement with its indefatigable projector, Mr. J. M. Haldon; or the fourth, up the Truando, recently explored with great perseverance by Mr. Kellie, of New York. (App. PP.)

But the scene of Paterson's enterprise, promising as it was even in his day, and urgently as this scene now calls for careful consideration, is even less important than the principles upon which he planned the government of his colony. In his hands it must have become a model for colonial progress in point of civilisation, of trade, and of religious toleration, whilst as a practical administrator he would have established suitable guards against error and corruption.

The principle of free trade is declared in this memoir with a clearness and force that cannot be surpassed; not, indeed, that he can be called the originator of that doctrine; for what the great writers said in its favour in the middle of the last century, is found to be better expressed by earlier speculators, whose writings they seem never to have read. The memoir also contains a curious sketch of British and other colonies at a period when we were exposed to formidable rivalries in more than one European state.

On two points only does Paterson seem to have erred on this subject. He was unquestionably just and conciliatory towards the native tribes of America, among whom his settlements were to be placed; but to the African

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he, like Las Casas, looked only as a slave-owner, and he calmly reckoned upon negro slave-labour as one of the chief sources of wealth for his colonists. So in regard to the East Indies, he had not the slightest foresight of the power we have since acquired there. The attention of his company had been earnestly called to an enterprise in the East Indies before the Darien expedition was developed. He pertinaciously resisted that proposal. Nor has any trace been found by the Editor of a design attributed to him in the ingenious paper upon "The Scot abroad" (App. QQ), in which Paterson is said to have planned the revival of the ancient overland trade to India, with the aid of certain Armenian merchants (App. RR.)

Upon the local rule of Darien there could now be little difference of opinion, as it is to be expected that ere long no British possession beyond sea will be without the best of constitutions, namely, such as is based upon popular representation, and subject to popular control, with general equality of rights, and a free press to protect them.

On the contrary, Paterson's views respecting the home administration of our colonial possessions still urgently demand consideration. Our colonial ministers labour under two great disadvantages. They are not provided with fit means of learning the truth upon the most material current events in the colonies; and by the composition of their offices they are cut off from the men capable of enlightening them and Parliament, either upon those current events, or upon the character of leading Colonists, or the influence of important measures in any of the colonies. The consequences are notorious and deplorable, such as Canadian rebellions, which are but reproductions of the revolution of the thirteen American colonies of the last century, with its debt of millions hanging round our necks, and its miserable results at this moment ravaging the fairest portions of the western world: and such as Caffre wars, which are simply repetitions of the Indian wars of two hundred years, with an aggravated amount of expense and of peril.

All this springs from the gross ignorance of the truth in the Colonial Office in Downing Street, leading to gross errors in policy, and to vacillation even in its errors.

In Paterson's time, Lord Somers, a distinguished colonial minister as well as the greatest constitutional statesman we have ever had, adopted methodical digests of intelligence from the colonies, which had the correction of the old false system in view. These digests were laid periodically before Parliament during fourteen years. They were then given up, and a long period of neglect followed, which seems to have reached its climax when the Duke of Newcastle, after being Secretary of State for twenty years, left a warehouse of colonial despatches with their original bandages unti ɔd. This neglect was one of the primary sources of the American revolution of 1766; and the Board of Plantations, after being long a resting-place for feeble poets like Soame Jenyns, and historians like Gibbon, fell to pieces under Burke's withering sarcasms.

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Paterson would have prevented all this, in the first place by means of a board of experienced men in aid of the Secretary of State, speedily to convey to the Government correct views of all colonial affairs requiring its attention. Such a board had been formed under the Commonwealth, and it was revived for several years after the Restoration, sitting with great advantage in Mercers' Hall in the city (App. SS). This was the plan set out in the West India Tract of 1690, to which Paterson contributed. Like the old Board of Trade and Plantations, it combined colonial and commercial topics under the direction of one body; and when, with his usual buoyant spirit, he extended his efforts (after succeeding in carrying a council of trade, and in supporting the Darien Company in Scotland, in 1705,) to the further object of improving the English administration of the colonies and trade, he speculated boldly upon establishing a national council of trade of the same large character for England also. This is done in the closing chapters of the Dialogues of 1706 on the Union. Being employed on the work of the Union after publishing that tract, and strongly recommended to Queen Anne, at the completion of the Union, for employment in the public service, he seems to have abstained from pursuing these speculations when disappointed, not only of that employment, but even of the payment of the indemnity which the House of Commons resolved was due to him (App. TT).

The wise plan of administration acted upon for a season would have been much enforced by perseverance in Lord Somers's method of securing a regular supply of colonial intelligence. The royal instructions to the colonial authorities prescribed a system of reports that would furnish large materials for that supply. The digests periodically to be laid before Parliament would have kept it on a level with events.

A few years ago an attempt to revive this plan, in a much improved shape, was well received in powerful quarters; and very recently there seemed to be a probability that it could be revived under the best auspices. An impediment, however, has been thrown in its way by the influence of that narrow routine which prefers darkness to light, and by the official weakness which daily sacrifices the best public interests.

Paterson's views of *home* colonial government were of a diametrically opposite character to those which have prevailed for the last 150 years at enormous cost to the nation; and which at this moment can only be resisted with effect by a reconsideration of the plan which both Cromwell and Clarendon pursued, and Paterson advocated—namely, a board of practical men in aid of ministers—to which must come at last *his* principle of a Colonial and Indian representation in the House of Commons.

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A PROPOSAL

TO

PLANT A COLONY IN DARIEN;

TO PROTECT THE INDIANS AGAINST SPAIN;

AND TO

OPEN THE TRADE OF SOUTH AMERICA TO ALL NATIONS.

1701.

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TO THE KING.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

I was once in hopes of being instrumental in laying, not only this scheme, but no small part of the thing contained in the following sheets, at the footstool of your throne.

And although in this I have been hitherto frustrated by many and different occurrences, yet, after all, it is with the greatest pleasure I now behold the very past difficulties and disappointments, instead of having contrary effects, so capable of being brought only to contribute the more towards the due forming and maturing this noble undertaking for such a time as this, and to be as so many necessary harbingers to prepare and pave the way for the future glorious progress of those victorious fleets and armies, which seem ready to receive your royal call and command.

Great Sir, as both worlds, the new as well as the old, do at this time implore your protection, so I trust the effectual opening this door of commerce, and of more easy access unto, and correspondence with, the ends of the earth, hath been hitherto hidden for so great and unparalleled a conjuncture as this, and reserved by the Divine hand for one of the singular glories of your Majesty's reign.

And after all my troubles, disappointments, and afflictions, in promoting the design during the course of the last seventeen

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years, it is now with no small satisfaction I take this opportunity of proposing so hopeful an accession to the dominions and greatness of your Majesty, and wealth of your people, as it is hoped this may one day come to be, as likewise to express the sense I have of the honour of your royal permission, on this occasion, to subscribe myself,

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Your Majesty's

Most dutiful, faithful, and obedient servant.

London, Jan. 1, 1701.

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A PROPOSAL

TO

PLANT A COLONY IN DARIEN.

A brief View of the weight and consequence of the General Trade, and of some considerable places in the Indies.

As the more direct and immediate consequences of the late union of the crowns of France and Spain in the House of Bourbon give just umbrage to all thinking men, so there are others, the which, although by reason of their distance of place, or various and different circumstances, may to the common view seem more remote and less to be apprehended, yet, if not taken in time and duly regarded, may not only be of equal but by much the most danger. Of this nature, what presents itself in the first place, and comes most naturally in view, is the weight and consequence of the Indies; for if the fruits of those new discoveries of the Spaniards have, within the last two ages, made far greater alteration in Christendom than the sword;—if, notwithstanding all those superficial and faint approaches that have hitherto been made by others, the Indies of Spain be still not only much more considerable than those of all the nations of Europe together, but capable of giving a greater scope to profitable navigation and industry than all the known world besides;—if what other nations have gained or gotten from the Indies within this last hundred years has been rather by the mismanagements of the Spaniards than by any other means;—if things be really thus, then what mischiefs have the rest of mankind not to

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expect from this new accession, from this conjunction of the people, arts, manufactures, and shipping of France, to the best and most advantageous means of employing and improving them, now in the hands of Spain. Wherefore, in order to shew of what dangerous consequence it may be to suffer France and Spain to new mould and regulate their now joint interest, and to improve those seeds of dominion they have now in the Indies, we shall, in the first place, endeavour to give a brief view of the several interests of the princes and states of Europe in the three other parts of the world. In the second place, we shall shew the dangerous tendency of this new union to Christendom in general, but more immediately to the trade and dominions of Great Britain and those of the United Provinces in particular. And thirdly, we shall propose the most proper and effectual ways and means for avoiding this imminent danger.

First general Head.—The several interests of the Princes and States of Europe in the other parts of the World.

The states of Europe whose interests for the Indies are capable of contributing anything worth naming to the balance of wealth and power, herein principally under consideration, are only five, viz. Spain, Portugal, France, the United Provinces, and the kingdom of England.

First, Spain.—Besides the Manillas, or Phillippine Islands, in the East Indies, the Spaniards are still, or pretend, at least, to be, possessed of the most considerable islands, and of the far greatest part, and most material part, of the continent of America. They likewise pretend, not only to exclude all other nations from the trade, but even from the very navigation, of the spacious South Sea, the which, even by what thereof is already known, appears not only to be the greatest, but by far the richest side of the world.

Secondly, Portugal.—As the Portuguese were the first who made the more easterly discoveries in the Atlantic ocean, so the doctrines of monopolies and exclusions which they had

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formerly received from the Hanse Towns of Germany, together with their own native presumption and avarice, easily inclined them, not only to think of engrossing the commodities and countries they found, but even the very world itself; from which unaccountable conceits sprang the interruption they afterwards gave to the navigations of the Spaniards, under pretence of being the first discoverers of the great sea towards the west and south, and that therefore only the Portuguese might justly sail therein. From thence proceeded that new and unheard-of method of dividing the world between Portugal and Spain, whereby, instead of claiming and denominating their properties and dominions from their possessions, or that of their ancestors, and settling and defining their limits by seas, rivers, lakes, mountains, morasses, or other natural or artificial boundaries on the superficies of the ground, according to the uninterrupted practice of all former ages,—they now, by a quite other and contrary way, pretended to draw certain imaginary mathematical lines between heaven and earth, and, with an arrogancy more than human, presumed to claim for theirs all that lies between those lines, as if they thereby meant to encroach upon God in heaven, as well as upon men on earth. By this division it is, that the Portuguese have since claimed that commonly called the eastern, and the Spaniards the western side of the world; but the hearts of the Portuguese bearing no sort of proportion to those wild and unbounded conceits, it therefore came to pass, that, by restraints and prohibitions in trade, as well as in religion, they have so cramped and crushed their designs, that, instead of an accession of wealth and power, which they so greedily sought, and which they otherwise might have, their acquisitions in the Indies became first a weakening to them, and afterwards a prey to those nations which had somewhat less presumption, but a great deal more industry than they.

But, notwithstanding their great losses to the Dutch and others, they have still remaining several places in the East

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Indies, and upon the east and west coast of Africa, which, although they might be of no small consequence to others, yet, for want of industry and good management—which always were and ever will be inconsistent with a religious inquisition and exclusive trade—bring little or no advantage to Portugal. On the coast of Malabar they have the city of Goa, and that of Macao on the coast of China, with some other places of less consequence in Asia. On the coast of Africa they have Mozambique, Melinda, and some other settlements. On the west coast, besides the islands of Cape Verd, Azores, and Madeira, they have yet several places on the continent left in their possession. But what is at this day most material, and of greatest consequence to the Portuguese, is that rich and fertile tract of land in America, extending itself from the great river of Amazons on the north to that of La Plata on the south, commonly known by the name of Brazil; the which, considering the management, or rather mismanagement, of the Spaniards, might by this time have been capable of very great things. But, however, the Portuguese having been by the Hollanders driven out of the most and best part of their possessions in the east, that little of their genius which has escaped the consuming Inquisition had thereby the greater opportunity to incline to this bias, and to vent itself towards the improvement of Brazil; wherein, as they have managed things better, or rather not so badly, as the Spaniards, so have they again been greatly outstripped by others, who yet have had more and greater natural difficulties to encounter with, and fewer and less considerable opportunities than they.

Thirdly, France.—Although the French were none of the first in undertaking, yet are they not now very far behind hand in the Indies. In America they have Canada and part of Newfoundland to the northward; and, besides a considerable part of the great island of Hispaniola, as likewise of that of St. Christopher to the southward, they have the island of Martinique, Guadaloupe, and that of Cayenne, together with part of the coast of Guiana adjoining, with some other islands, or rocks, of less con-

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sequence. In Africa they have some footing in the rivers of Senegal, Gambia, and other places of the west coast, as likewise some places of no great consequence in the East Indies.

Considering the many favourable opportunities the French have had, and the great expenses they have been at, both in the east and west, within the last fifty years, one might have expected much greater things from them, but, instead of this, even what they have done has been rather from some unaccountable weakness or oversight of others than from any good conduct of theirs: so that, whether it be that the genius of nations, as well as of particular persons, is rarely capable of penetrating far, or of making considerable improvements in several great things at once, or from what other cause, we pretend not here to determine, but it is plain that this potent nation, which now for more than half an age has not only come up with, but outstripped others in several things—but especially in the arts of war, intriguing, and taxing—have been far enough from having the same success in matters of trade, and in designs to those more remote places of the world. So it is hoped that Almighty God hath better things in store for the rest of mankind than can possibly consist with a measure of knowledge and capacity suitable to the opportunity now in their hands, by the means of this their new conjunction with Spain and Portugal.

Fourthly, The United Provinces.—Besides the islands, or rather rocks, of Curaçoa, Eustatia, and Saba, the Dutch have Surinam, a part of Guiana, upon the main continent of America, where, after many struggles and difficulties in wading through a bog, almost as bad as their own doubtless once was, they have at last pierced above an hundred leagues into the country; where, by the communication of navigable rivers, they find not only a great conveniency for water carriage, but likewise a very excellent country, the which they are now in a fair way of cultivating to the best advantage. The Hollanders have likewise a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, and several others upon the west coast of Africa. But the great and main acquisitions of the

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Dutch are in the East Indies, where, *if they have not taken the best*, yet are they doubtless come very near to the next best course; and, as they have therein outstripped all other nations in Christendom in good and reasonable institutions for the increase of trade and dominion, so their success has been answerable, since they have thereby been enabled to settle potent colonies, make many and great conquests, and to erect a mighty empire in those remote regions, where they have under their command mighty fleets and armies, capable of controlling great potentates, shake kingdoms, remove kings, and give laws to the eastern world, and all this not so much at the labour and expense of their own as that of other people. In the west the Dutch have not been so successful, especially since their unaccountable loss of Brazil about fifty years ago, the which if they had kept to this day, they had thereby not only hindered the rise and progress of the plantations of some other nations, but in all human appearance this their footing in the west might by this time have been capable of meeting with, and of being joined to, that in the east, and thereby to carry the balance and bias of wealth and power of Europe quite the contrary way than we have seen within the last forty years.

Fifthly, England.—Excepting a few factories, the acquisitions of the English in the East Indies are not at all considerable, nor, on the present foot, are they likely to be much increased or improved, since our trade thither is chiefly founded on a monopoly of the sale of East Indian manufactures in this kingdom, where there has for some time been as great, or perhaps a greater demand of these commodities than in all Europe besides. On the west coast of Africa they have several settlements and factories, and the African Company, in whose possession and property they are, have lately been put under an excellent regulation by Parliament, the which, with some small improvements, is capable of making it one of the best ordered and least burthensome companies, to the growth and improvement of trade, of any in Christendom.

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But the main and most valuable concern of this kingdom in the Indies, is the western plantations, the which, as they have been of no small advantage for near half an age, so are they now, in case of a rupture with France and Spain, capable of being rendered the most growing, vigorous, and influencing interest that is or can be made in the Indies. Besides a part of Newfoundland, the English are now possessed of many potent colonies upon the main continent of America, from the southerly part of Carolina, in about 30°, to the northerly part of New England, in about 44° of north latitude. In the more southern, or summer country, besides a part of St. Christopher, they have the islands of Bermuda and Bahama to the northward, and Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat among the Caribbees, as also the island of Jamaica, lying nearer into the Bay of Mexico. These plantations, which have already contributed so much to the wealth and support of this nation, and at this time look as especially prepared and directed by the Divine hand as harbingers to prepare the way for so great a work as seems now to be ready and ripe for execution, have not, as some have vainly imagined, sprung from the deep contrivances or designs of any one, or a party of men, but from various causes, at several times; and, to say the truth, rather from our own or other people's weakness than from real virtue or good conduct in the preceding age. Our northern settlements have for the most part had their rise from our contentious broils on the score of religion, state affairs, or both; and, although our most southern plantations sprang from the same, or very like causes, yet they owe the great and principal part of their success to the Netherlanders' loss of the Brazil to the Portuguese about fifty years ago.

The soils of the Caribbee Islands were never of the richest; but now, by a long course of cultivation, they are almost worn out. And if we add to this, that, by the damps and vapours of the earthquakes and inundations, these places are now become more unhealthy and mortal than they formerly were, it may be reasonably considered, had it not been for this great and sur-

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prising conjunction of France and Spain, the bias of some few, and the ignorance of the great part, might possibly have kept the nation from penetrating or looking any further than only to the old trade of grubbing upon those rocks till they had insensibly become a much greater prejudice than ever they have been a benefit to England.

For after the excellent conditions of that noble country by the lazy and untoward management of the Portuguese having been raised, and kept up to nearer treble than a double price, this nation had thereby opportunity and encouragement to cultivate those their miserable islands, or rather rocks, of the Caribbees, and to raise sugar and tobacco, not only for their own consumption, but for that of other countries, the which, as America is constituted, could never otherwise have happened.

It is true, Jamaica, besides being a better soil than the other, has also a conveniency, by her situation, for a kind of stolen or smuggling trade with the Spaniards, the which, whatever noise it may have made by reason of a few that have been *gainers* thereby, yet was it always as inconsiderable as uncertain, even to what was, and much more to what might have been, done in those places of the world.

This brings us naturally to the second head, which is to show the dangerous tendency of this new union to Christendom in general, but more immediately to the trade and dominion of Great Britain and those of the United Provinces in particular.

Second general Head.—The dangerous consequence of the new Union of France and Spain.

As an introduction to this second head, and for the further clearing of what is to follow, we shall, in the first place, endeavour to give some of the principal reasons why the Spaniards, by means of their Indies, have not long ere this been enabled to draw and attract to themselves the greatest part of the wealth, trade, manufactures, navigation, and consequently of the people and power of the world. It will easily be concluded that the

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Spaniards, for these two ages past, have had in their hands the most easy and natural means of becoming masters of the world of any people that ever were, when it shall be duly considered that the Indies of Spain have in effect produced at least two-thirds of the value of whatsoever both Indies have yielded to Christendom; because the commodities produced by the Indies of Spain are, generally speaking, the most staple and current of all others.

Since also not only the trade, but the very Indies, are capable of vast improvement, because the isthmus of America is not only the natural centre of the west, but easily to be put in a state of being that of at least two-thirds of the trade and treasure of both Indies; and since the settlement and possession of these, with the port of Havannah on the island of Cuba, is capable of rendering all other acquisitions unprofitable and unsafe, excepting only as by an understanding and connexion with them; then by comparing the price of labour, edibles, and European commodity in the Indies of Spain with what they are in England and Holland, there will be reason to suppose that in a hand only as industrious as that of the English or Dutch, the Indies might, since their first discovery, have produced nearly treble the quantity of Indian commodities and growths as they have yielded to Europe.

So, notwithstanding the lazy, negligent, and untoward management of the Spaniards, yet their importation of gold and silver only has been capable of sinking the value thereof, and consequently to enhance the price of labour and staple commodity here in Europe from one to five, and to increase the navigation and shipping thereof as near, if not quite, to this proportion; and not only so, but to raise the revenue of most of the provinces and states near, if not quite, ten to one of what they were before the year 1500. Therefore it may justly be assumed, that, with anything of a tolerable management, the Spaniards could not have failed to be much more than in a condition not only to conquer, but even to buy what was valuable of the rest

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of Christendom; and that it has been rather by the more immediate hand of Almighty God than by any human foresight, prudence, or by reasonable conduct of those concerned, that not only Europe, but the most valuable part of the world has not long ere this been brought to submit to the yoke of Spain.

Dangers to civil liberty from Charles V. and Philip II.

For, to pass over the times of the Kings, as they were called, Ferdinand and Isabella, and Emperor Charles, their grandson, had Philip II. but added that five hundred and sixty-four million of ducats he spent upon his projects in the Netherlands to what he bestowed in order to the bringing of France and England under his yoke; if, instead of consuming this then so immense a sum in planting the standard of his more than inhuman inquisition in that piece of German bog; and, instead of making this his greatest obstruction, he had by good usage brought the seventeen provinces to be the principal second and support of these his vast designs,—humanly speaking, what could have hindered the rest, or at least the most material part, of Europe, if not of the world, from becoming a prey to him?

But, to come closer to the matter, had Charles the Emperor, and Philip his son, instead of setting out upon the principle of their execrable Inquisition and an exclusive trade, founded their acquisitions in the Indies and elsewhere upon the like brave, extensive, and generous maxims with the great King Henry IV. of France, and by granting general naturalisation, liberty of conscience, and a permission to trade to the people of all nations on reasonable terms, they might doubtless have gained that which they aimed at, or at least said they aimed at, not only without hazard and difficulty, but with ease and security in every step they took.

Since by such permission trade, besides the immense wealth that must needs have centred in Spain as the emporium of the Indies, and consequently of the trading world, even the inconsiderable duties of five per cent. upon the value of the importa-

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tions into, and the like on the exportations from their colonies, together with every easy imposition upon the consumption of the subjects and inhabitants, might long ere this have been capable of bringing a much greater annual income to the very treasury and the government of Spain than the value of all the present profits of the returns, not only to the king, but even of that kingdom from the Indies. But, quite contrary to all this, the Spaniards, by their too eager pursuit, instead of overtaking, have quite overrun their game; and the monopoly of those before unheard-of and unequalled mines in the Indies being added to that of their souls in Spain, instead of enriching them, as they so greedily designed, hath contributed both to heighten their presumption and avarice the more, and to cramp and enervate their industry to such a degree, that most of all their bulk trade, consequently their shipping, mariners, and manufacturers, have been lost to the English, Dutch, and others, whose work and labour are incomparably cheaper than that of theirs, and vastly below the produce of their Indian mines. Thus the Indies, which, but indifferently managed, might have made the Spaniards the greatest and richest people that ever were, by mismanagement and wrong directions have not a little contributed to their ruin. For by their prohibiting any other people to trade, or so much as to go or dwell in the Indies, they have not only lost those trades they could not in this manner profit by, grasp, or maintain, but they have depopulated and ruined their own country therewith; insomuch that, properly speaking, the Indies may be said rather to have conquered the Spaniards, than that they have conquered the Indies. By permitting all to go out and none to come in, they have not only lost the people which are gone to that far distant and luxuriant region, but the remote expectation of so vast advantage hath likewise rendered those that remained almost wholly unprofitable and good for nothing; for there is now-a-days hardly a Spaniard of any spirit but had rather risk his person on an adventure to the Indies, than hazard the staining his gentility by the work and industry of Europe, and thus,

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not unlike the dog in the fable, the Spaniards have in a manner lost their own country, and yet not gotten the Indies. People and their industry are the true riches of a prince or nation, insomuch that, in respect of them, all other things are but imaginary. This was well understood by the people of Rome, who, contrary to the maxims of Sparta and Spain, by general naturalisations, liberty of conscience, and immunity of government, not only more easily, but likewise much more advantageously and effectually, conquered and kept the world than ever they did, or possibly could have done, by the sword.

Thus, as in some sort of distempered bodies, where the nourishment feeds not the patient, but the disease, and where the stronger and more cordial is still the more dangerous, so this immense wealth of the Indies, which otherwise might have given strong and wholesome nourishment to the body politic of Spain, by misapplication has proved only oil to the flame of their more than inhuman inquisition. As to the destruction, if not of the greatest, at least of the best part, it has chiefly been this monopoly of their souls that has thus depraved the religion, perverted their morals, and depressed the genius of the remaining Spaniards; so it is to their before unheard-of kind of monopoly of the Indies they owe the strengthening their presumption, and weakening their industry, to such a degree, that the freights of shipping, and consequently of all other things relating to the navigation of Spain and the North-sea countries of America, are at this day at about four times the rate of those in England and of the United Provinces. Again, the freights of shipping and other industry in the South-sea countries do exceed the price of those of Spain and the North Sea at least three to one; and the price of a negro, which is the labouring man in America, and has used in a medium to be at about 80 pieces of eight at Jamaica or Curaçao, is in Peru or Charcos from 800 to 1,500 or 1,600, and in the medium cannot be less than 1,000 pieces of eight. So, although the best iron may usually be had for about three, or not exceeding four, pieces of eight per quintal, or one

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hundred weight, yet the common price of such iron in the country of the South Sea is hardly ever less than fifty or sixty pieces of eight per quintal, and so of other European commodities and manufactures. Then the meanest able-bodied negro will not be hired in the South-sea country under a pistole or four pieces of eight per day, and at the mines the wages are still much higher, nay, in some places, even to the double of this. So, although in Holland and Geneva, which are so far from the fountain-head, interest of money hardly exceeds two per cent. per annum on current securities, yet among the Spaniards in the very Indies it is from ten to twelve, and even to twenty per cent. per annum. From all which it must needs follow, that the gleanings of the grapes of other nations should be better than the vintage of the Spaniards in this their new world.

And thus, upon due consideration, it will be apparent that the want of people, the great distance and separation of their dominions, and consequently the occasion of dividing their forces, and of double expense and hazard, great debts upon a mismanagement of the public revenues, and the late accession of power to the nobles or grandees, which have been commonly talked of, and given out for the great and principal causes of the decadency and present low ebb of the monarchy of Spain, are either but very superficial, or only effects of their grasping at such vast dominions, without the so necessary helps of a general naturalisation, liberty of conscience, and a permission trade;—but, on the contrary, they have consumed their nation's and people's spirit and genius by those two unheard of and monstrous monopolies, the one upon the neck of the other, viz. that of the very souls of the Spaniards by their priests, and that again of the Indies by the Spaniards.

The unaccountable Stupidity of the Statesmen of the last Two Centuries in matters relating to the new discovery and increase and progress of Trade and Navigation.

Thus, whatever some unthinking and misinformed persons

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may otherwise suppose or guess at, yet it is manifest it has only been from accident of the unaccountable mismanagement of the Spaniards that any of the nations of Europe worth looking after have been left in a condition to preserve their liberty, or of gaining ground in the points of manufactures, navigation, and plantations. And certainly it administers no small cause of wonder that the best and most capable spirits of Christendom have hitherto been so stupid, so dull and little concerned in a matter of so vast weight and consequence, that none of those we commonly call all the politicians of the last two ages have been at any tolerable pains or expense to search into the source and original of this violent evil, this negative kind of destruction, introduced into the rest of the world by their not only new, but new kind of discoveries in the Indies;—that our ancestors, like so many intoxicated fishes and birds in a maze, should so long sleep upon this precipice, and either not think at all, or think themselves secure with this razor at their throats,—so quietly and unconcernedly to see Charles the emperor and Philip his son, even by the untoward way he went to work, from those unparalleled mines within six or eight years to import gold and silver sufficient, not only to conquer, but, by good directions, even to purchase the very property of the rest of Europe;—to suffer Spain, by means of her Indies, during the course of more than an age, besides what they have done in America, to put the rest of Europe to the expense of so many millions of lives, and so many hundred millions of money;—and that it should be in the nature of the rest of mankind, especially of this nation, within the last fifty years, when it was plainly so very much in their power to make it otherwise, calmly and implicitly to run the risk of the rising of some great prince, or perhaps of some considerable subject of a suitable genius, or other like accident among the Spaniards,—so to new model their Indies, instead of being so much a dead and insupportable burthen and weight to themselves, to become, not only their firm and permanent support, but a most tempting and effective bait to their neigh-

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bours, the which, to all human appearance, could not but have had the designed effect.

Incitements to the Study of the Principles of Trade and its Improvements.

But as, when Almighty God in his providence will deliver a people from the dangers that attend so fatal an infatuation as this, mankind are commonly awakened, either by some excellent or capable person raised up for that purpose, or by some very unexpected and awakening providence, so it is hoped our statesmen and politicians, who not many months ago would have reckoned it altogether absurd in any one to expect, or so much as dream of, this late formidable conjunction of France and Spain, will now be brought to account the study of matters relating to trade, navigation, discovery, and improvement in the world worthy of their regard. And as an incitement and invitation before hand, we now venture to assure them that, when they shall begin once to give it a reasonable thought, they will quickly find there is somewhat more, and quite otherwise, in the mainsprings and principles of trade and industry, than only to manage a little conceit or selfish intrigue,—to encourage and procure a monopoly, exclusion, pre-emption, and restraints or prohibitions;—to tax the nation for encouraging the exportation of corn when cheap, but to discourage its exportation when dear;—to settle the price of corn, salt, and such like;—raise or force the value, name, or interest of money;—to restrain, prohibit, and disjoin, not the industry of his Majesty's subjects with other nations, but even with and respect to one another. They will find that all these and many more pretended encouragements are so far from the things they are called, that they are not only intrigues to make private advantage from the ruin of the public, and arise from the mistaken notions and conceits of unthinking men, who neither have temper nor allow themselves time or opportunity to consider things as they are,—but only take them as they seem to be,—a sort of presumptuous meddlers, who are

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continually apt to confound effects with causes, and causes with effects,—and not to measure the trade, or improvement of house, family, or country, and even that of the universe, by the nature and extent of the thing, but only by their own narrow and mistaken and mean conceptions thereof;—then they will be quickly convinced how much the last two ages have not only suffered, but of the danger Christendom has been in, and the needless expense they have been put into by the reason of the want of the due sense and knowledge of the effects of the importation of gold and silver and other wealth from the Indies; and they will easily be capable of seeing what Europe, and especially the trading part thereof, may justly expect if they shall be so stupid and insensible as to allow the house of Bourbon to unite the purse of the world to the sword of France.

But in hopes that the surprising occasion will now sufficiently awaken those concerned, and give them an inclination to dive deep and look far, and to be no more for putting far away the evil day,—or for any skinning over this dangerous sore,—but quite otherwise, for the future to spend a little of their time and thoughts in considering where and of what nature the principal support of this consuming and destructive Hannibal is, and, like the "Great Scipio," go or send to the fountain-head, and then to give the decided blow,—we shall come now to speak of the most proper and effective means for avoiding this imminent danger; and therein shall first consider not only what those three combined nations have in their power, but likewise the steps they may take if they should now be able to patch up a peace, and therein preserve their respective interests in the Indies wholly and entire.

Dangers of a Peace with France and Spain under the present constitution of things.

Could we reasonably suppose that the French and Spaniards have capacity, inclination, or both, all of a sudden so much to change their measures from worse to better as to lay aside their

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mitred and *booted* apostles, and instead thereof grant but a tolerable ease to tender consciences; and, instead of an exclusive trade, and heaping monopolies and impositions one upon another, to grant an easy naturalisation to the merchants, manufacturers, and mariners of all nations, and add to this a permission trade upon reasonable terms; and to crown this work, and the more effectually to allay all jealousies and suspicions for the present, to seem very free in parting with some of the most remote corners of their dominions in Europe, under the usual pretence of an ardent desire and real inclination to continue peace;—it is very much to be feared that this or the like bait would easily take;—and that so great a present prospect of advantage would so blind the eyes of those who have the influence, as to make them altogether insensible to future danger;—and not a few even of those who are counted our brightest men would think they had done or gained wonders,—so that in this manner France and Spain could hardly miss of gaining the ascendant in point of trade, manufactures, and navigation, and of time to regulate, fortify, and secure their interests in the Indies, so as quickly to be in a condition of putting what terms they please on the rest of mankind.

But since such great and unwieldy societies of men and considerable states and nations, especially so very much depraved as the Spaniards are, and the Portuguese too, and the French now begin to be, are not easily brought to make so great and fundamental reforms, especially at once; and as their past stupidity seems to have proceeded very immediately from the hand of God, whose first step to destroy or disappoint a people is usually to harden their hearts and blind their eyes;—it is hoped Almighty God has better things in store for this age and posterity than can reasonably be expected from such vast effects of the new union. Still it must be confessed that this fatal conjunction hath laid open so many ways to ruin Europe, that in all appearance nothing less than the utmost foresight, care, and diligence can possibly prevent it; however, in order thereunto,

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and by way of caution to those who are principally concerned, we shall endeavour to represent the steps and methods those combined nations are the most capable of, and most likely to take.

The Steps and Methods the French and Spaniards are most likely to take and follow.

In case of Peace.

Firstly. It is probable they will, by all possible ways and means, endeavour to recover and reform the present constitution of the revenues of Spain, the which, under but a very indifferent management, are doubtless capable of being the most considerable of any prince or state in Europe.

Secondly. In matters of religion, although perhaps neither the French may be easily prevailed upon to part with the gentle discipline of their *booted*, nor the Spaniards from that of their *cassock*, apostles; yet is it reasonable to think they will bring both the power and revenues of the Church to be much more subservient to the civil government than hitherto;—and by this means, besides other supports and advantages, be capable of raising a new revenue of not a few millions a-year, since the yearly revenues of the Church are at present not less than two-fifths of the value of the lands of all the kingdoms and dominions of or under the obedience of Spain.

Thirdly. They will endeavour to establish a near and close correspondence and communication of trade between themselves, and thereby join the shipping people and manufacturers of France to the best and most advantageous way *now* in the hands of Spain and Portugal.

Fourthly. It is possible they may carry this design of a union of trade much further, and, by some kind of immunities, communication, or at least by granting a permission trade to all Roman Catholic nations, come even to join the industry of the popish world to the Indies.

Fifthly. Nay, it is likely they may at first not only grant this

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permission trade upon the footing of a *supportable duty* to Roman Catholics, but even to the English and Dutch; and though they may not allow any but Roman Catholic merchants, mariners, or manufacturers, to dwell in or go to the Indies, yet they may allow those of England and Holland to reside in Spain.

Sixthly. If by this or the like means they shall be able to break this alliance, and to disunite the *grand confederacy* of Europe,—then, as they begin gradually to get the power into their hands, they will endeavour—not all at once, but insensibly —to exclude *those* they call *heretics* from trade, first by doubling and afterwards by trebling the duty, until the *impositions* shall at last become insupportable.

Seventhly. They will endeavour, by good regulations and new and vigorous institutions, to revive and recover the old decayed and decrepid constitution of the government of Spain and dominions thereof, and contrive and invent good and firm ways of correspondence between the places of their several dominions, in the which they will be the better enabled by the addition of France and Portugal.

Eighthly. They will reform, order, and new discipline the inhabitants of America, and fortify and secure the Isthmus, Havannah, and other places of consequence,—not only so as to render them impregnable in themselves, but formidable to the navigation of both seas and the rest of the Indies.

In case of War.

Firstly. They will possibly not only give and continue the before-spoken-of or like encouragement of trade to Roman Catholics and other nations who shall come to be allied to them, but, instead of sending out or bringing home their returns from the Indies in old-fashioned, unwieldy, and cumbrous Spanish ships, they will now be for carrying out or bringing home their effects in ships built and manned after the newest and best fashion.

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Secondly. By the use they will make of convenient ways of building, manning, and sailing their ships, taking advantage of the respective situations of their ports, the different winds, currents, weather, and seasons of the year, they will endeavour to render all or the greater part of our designs on their trade, shipping, or navigation wholly ineffectual.

Thirdly. By the encouragement and support they will give the company, and the number, good order, and disposition of their ships and the men-of-war, they will endeavour to make the remaining footing in, and the navigation to, the Indies, not only unprofitable but unsafe and destructive to all other nations.

Thus, instead of the harsh and rugged ways and methods introduced by Fernando, Emperor Charles, and King Philip the Second, those united nations will now begin, by these or the like methods, to slacken that high and insupportable hand,—and thus to unite the rest of Christendom, or at least the Popish world, to them, by the purse,—the which, as it is the most *easy*, so it is the most effectual way of securing subjects and allies that ever was, or perhaps can be, in the world. If they should, under pretence of granting these or the like things, by treaty or otherwise, be able, not only to break the confederacy, but to reduce the trade, navigation, and manufactures of England and Holland to so easy and insensible, and, consequently, effectual, a decay as this naturally would be,—and, on the contrary, to bring that of their own proportionably upon the reviving hand,—is it not to be justly feared that there would be no probable way of preventing those rich and potent nations of England and Holland from being taken by this bait, from prostituting themselves to the feeding upon the scraps and crumbs that, whatever the pretence might be, should, for this very purpose, be thrown under the table of this Catholic combination, or to convince them of the danger, before they shall find it, if not too late to repent, at least to extricate themselves?

But better things are hoped for, and that Almighty God, who has suffered France and Spain to have so much means and

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inclination to lay foundations for the destruction of the rest of mankind, has not likewise given them suitable hearts and a proportionable measure of understanding; that He will now begin to raise up and awaken some capable persons and spirits to forewarn and make Europe sensible of the danger it is at present in;—and that, in a more particular manner, this kingdom will now be sufficiently awakened and stirred up to take the seasonable care that our trade and navigation to the Indies, which hath been gained rather by accident than good conduct, may not be lost by the like occasion; and to look and seek further, and not unconcernedly to stand still until the trade, navigation, manufactures, home industry, and, consequently, the nation, shall begin sensibly to decline, instead of being further enriched by their navigation with, and interest in, the Indies, until there shall be nothing left for them to do in America but to plant sugar and tobacco for their own consumption, and even that at a dear rate, until others shall have got the start and ascendant so far as to make it altogether impossible for this nation to recover itself till the disease be past a remedy and all possibility of a cure.

Third general head.—The most proper ways and means for securing ourselves and depriving those our rivals of this dangerous handle.

This brings us naturally to the third general head, which relates to the most proper ways and means of securing ourselves, and depriving those our rivals of this dangerous handle.

And for this Nature hath sufficiently provided, since all that is most valuable in the Indies, or Indian trade and navigation, may be better and more effectually secured, at less than a twentieth part of the expense of men and money, and but in the well-ordering and security of only two or three, than by so many thousand posts and places as the Spaniards have hitherto pretended to secure, guard and possess.

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Of the Isthmus of America.

The first and most considerable of these places is the Isthmus of America, the which, if we reckon it only to extend from the the Gulf of Uraba on the east unto the river of Chagre westward, will be about eighty leagues in length, and from about twenty to more than thirty leagues in breadth from the one to the other sea; but if the length of the Gulf of Uraba, and the rivers that run into it, so far as they will admit of water carriage, should be likewise reckoned a part thereof, it will be found more than twice this length, and much about the same kind of breadth. The westernmost point or Cape of the Gulf of Uraba lies in eight degrees and about twenty minutes; and the mouth of the river Chagre in somewhat more than ten degrees of north latitude.

This country is in a great degree mountainous, and in most places not easily passable, especially from the north to the south; and therefore it is that in all this tract of land there is reckoned but four ordinary passes between the one and the other sea, viz. that of Chagre, that of Conception, that of Tubugantee, and that of Uraba, or otherwise called by the several names of Cacarico or Paya.

Pass of Chagre.

To begin towards the west. The first of the passes is that of the before-mentioned river of Chagre; the which, although it be barred, as are almost all those upon this coast by reason of the contrary or interfering winds, tides, and currents, yet is not the bar such but that ships of two or three hundred tons may go in and out; and, when in, there is safe riding under a very strong and almost inaccessible castle. The convenience of the water carriage of this river continues for about eighteen Spanish, or twenty-two French leagues, to a place called Venta Crucis. From Venta Crucis to Panama, upon the South Sea, there is by land about eight short French leagues, six whereof is so level that a canal might easily be cut through, and the other two leagues

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are not so very high and impracticable ground, but that a cut might likewise be made were it in these places of the world, but, considering the present circumstances of things in those, it would not be so easy. However, in the mean time, with no great pains and expense, a good and passable way, not only for man and horse, as it already is, but for carts, waggons, or other sort of carriage, might easily be made.

The South Sea part of this pass, being that of Panama, might also be made an excellent harbour as any in the world, although, by the negligent and untoward management of the Spaniards, it be not very convenient, and no ways safe, had they but the least apprehension of enemies in the South Seas. The passage overland from Portobello, about twelve leagues to the eastward of Chagre, or the north to Panama, on the South Sea, is designed, and ought in this description only to be understood, as part of the Pass of Chagre, since they have a communication, with only this difference, that the one is altogether by land, but the other by a considerable part of water carriage. (App. U U.)

Some make a question whether Portobello ought not to be dismantled, because, although it be an excellent harbour, yet it is withal not very habitable, by reason of the excessive rains and damp. But there are others who say there is no real necessity for this, since those excessive rains and damps, besides that of the bordering mountains, do proceed chiefly from other causes, viz. the near adjoining woods, morasses, and standing waters, the which, at no very great expense and labour, considering the weight and consequence of the work, may be removed, and the place rendered thereby abundantly more healthy and easy to its inhabitants.

Pass of Conception.

In about nine degrees of north latitude, and near forty leagues to the eastward of Chagre, lies the port of Conception; but as neither this in the North, nor the corresponding river of Chiesso on the South Sea, have, or lie near, any convenient

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harbour, and that, besides about eight days of very troublesome water passage, there is still four or five days' tedious travel over mountains, rocks, rivers, morasses, and other no very passable ground, we shall not further proceed in the description of this pass, as being no way comparable to the other three.

Pass of Tubugantee.

About thirty leagues to the eastward of Conception river, and in about eight degrees and forty minutes north, lies Caledonia Harbour, where the Scots were lately settled. From this harbour on the north, which is very convenient and defensible, they have but seven short French leagues of good, or at least easily capable of being made good, way to a place called Swattee; and from Swattee to the navigable part of the river of Tubugantee there is about two leagues more, the which, by reason of a steep hill and the frequent occasion there is of passing and repassing a river, is at present troublesome enough; but that two leagues might likewise easily be made good and passable by an industrious hand.

From Tubugantee on the south there is nine or ten feet water, and not less into the Gulf of Ballona, and these are about sixteen leagues. This Gulf of Ballona on the South Sea receives several great rivers, hath a tide of at least three fathoms water, and several excellent harbours and places of good riding for shipping. (App. V V.)

Pass of Uraba.

The fourth and last pass is that of Uraba, usually called by the natives, "the Pass Cacarico or Paya," the one being the river of communication with the North, and the other with the South Sea. The distance of the pass from Caledonia Harbour is reckoned thus, viz. to the northern point or cape of the Gulf of Uraba nine leagues; from the cape to the river in the bottom of the gulf about thirty leagues; up the great river to that of Cacarico, on the right, about ten leagues; and after a passage

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up the river of Cacarico of about eight leagues, they come to a narrow neck of land not exceeding two short English miles; the which, although it be rising ground, yet it is such as might easily be made a good cart or waggon way. After passing this neck of land, we come to the navigable part of the river called Paya, where, so far as we can learn, they have about twenty-five or twenty-six leagues into the South Sea. It is plain that the Pass of Cacarico hath by much the shortest and most easy land carriage; but, because it hath not the conveniency of a good harbour for shipping on either side nearer than that of Caledonia, it serves only to render the Pass of Tubugantee much more considerable, and therefore ought not to be reckoned a port, but only as an appendix thereof: insomuch that, all things considered, those four passes are in effect but only two, since that of Conception can hardly be rendered very easy and practicable, and this of Cacarico is only a part of Tubugantee. (App. WW.)

City and Harbour of Carthagena.

Although the city and harbour Carthagena be not a part of the Isthmus, yet, by reason of the vicinity thereof, its excellent harbour, strong and good situation, and the command of, or influence upon so many great rivers and rich countries within the land, it ought nevertheless to be reckoned a part of this design of establishing three or four permission and staple ports in the Indies; and whether it shall be agreed to be one of these ports or not, yet should it at least never be suffered in the power of any nation which may but seem to threaten or endanger a rivalship.

The Port and Town of Havannah.

Next the Isthmus, which is the natural centre, not only of America but of the whole Indies, and the only place on earth most capable of being the common storehouse of the neighbouring oceans, the Atlantic and the peaceable seas, the town and

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port of Havannah is of the greatest consequence, as well by reason of the excellent climate and soil, as of its situation at the western entrance of the Gulf of Florida, the most considerable sea-pass in America, as of the conveniency of its port and harbour, which is one of the most secure and commodious in the world. This port of Havannah is situated on the north side, over towards the west end of the great and famous island of Cuba, in the height of twenty-three degrees and about thirty minutes north. (App. XX.) As we have already mentioned the most convenient and easy passes between the two seas, so there are others, although much less commodious, yet have been, and still are sometimes used: the principal of them are these—

1*st. Pass of Magellan, or Cape Horn.*

The first is the pass by sea through the Straits of Magellan, in about three-and-fifty, or round Cape Horn, in about sixty, degrees of south latitude, which, considering the frequent changes and rigour of the climate, the contrary winds and currents which must be overcome, the distance of little less than six thousand leagues, and that this difficult navigation, so far as it relates to the passage through the Straits of Magellan, or round Cape Horn, can only be made in a certain time or season, being two or three months in the year, it will be found that whatever this navigation may be capable of contributing towards getting the command of the South Sea, yet, when the passage of the Isthmus shall be cleared and opened, there will not, nor cannot, remain any degrees of comparison between the one and the other.

2*nd. Pass of La Plata.*

The second pass is that of the river De la Plata, in about thirty-six degrees of south latitude; the which, besides a conveniency of water-carriage, has little less than six hundred leagues of no very easy way to the mountains of Potosi, and much further to the other mines of Peru, Los Chacos, and Chili; so

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that, although the water be no less, yet the land-carriage will differ ten to one.

3rd. Pass of Nicaragua.

The third pass is that of the Lake of Nicaragua, in about eleven degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, the which, by reason of its want of a harbour on the North Sea, and that no small pains and expense would be requisite to make such a conveniency on that of the South, that there is at least fifty leagues of very difficult water-carriage, and little, if any, less of troublesome way by land, can hardly be rendered of considerable use, much less of entering into competition with the passes of Cacarico and Tubugantee. (App. YY.)

4th. Pass of Acapulco.

The fourth pass is that of Acapulco, on the South Sea, in between sixteen and seventeen degrees, and of La Vera Cruz, on the north, in about eighteen degrees and ten minutes north latitude; but, although this pass be the most usual and convenient for all or most of the adjacent provinces of that end of America commonly called Mexico, yet it has, besides other inconveniences, at least one hundred and sixty leagues of land-passage, and this neither of the best nor easiest way. Besides, were there no such passes as those of the Isthmus, the Port of Havannah is capable of being such a bridle to this, and the whole Bay or Gulf of Mexico, as to render the navigation from thence to Europe in the greater part, if not altogether, impracticable.

Designed, not for exclusive Ports of Trade, but the contrary.

Beside these there are, or may be made, other passes, but none comparably so convenient or easy as those we have mentioned; and, doubtless, were the design of this proposal either for the thing as hitherto practised, or even for refining considerably upon exclusive ports and trade, all that we have or can say of the conveniences of the one pass or port above another could be but little available; for when the monopoly and management,

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the price and value of the navigation, labour, and other things, should gradually come to be raised to double, or, as the present case of the Spaniards, to more than a quadruple of what, by a good and prudent management, they need be, then, doubtless, others might and would have the same success against us in the west that the Dutch have had against the Portuguese in the east. A total exclusion, or exorbitant duty or difficulty, would, in such a case, gradually eat or break through stone walls. The thirst of gain, and temptation of so great advantage, would of course make men not only improve to the utmost what is already known, but likewise to exert themselves in finding out new and before unthought-of discoveries and inventions. Instead of such unwieldy ships as the Spaniards now use, they, although at much more trouble, and greater expense, would make and preserve sharp, and well-built, and windwardly ships and vessels; and, by beating up to the windward passage or passages, be able to avoid the danger from or by the reason of an enemy or rival possessed of the port of Havana, which they might otherwise expect attending at the entrance or in the passage through the Gulf of Florida. Also, to avoid those or the like dangers, they might find it worth while to sail through the Straits of Magellan, or round Cape Horn, and encompass not only America, but, if need were, the world. The greatness of the prospect might move and enable them, not only to encounter the difficulty and hazard of long and dangerous voyages by sea, or travels by land, but even to turn the course of rivers, drain lakes, and morasses, to dig or blow up the very rocks and mountains, or, as it is pretended Hannibal did, invent a new way or ways to melt them.

But, quite contrary to all this, not only no occasion is proposed to be given to tempt men to such extraordinary thoughts or proceedings, but the causes of such alterations as might otherwise be expected, from force, envy, or necessity, are designed to be altogether taken away, since the duty proposed will only be some small consideration towards maintaining and securing the ports, and for guarding the seas; and, in the whole, will be

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so far from being one-half, that they will not be, nor ought to be, at any time to exceed one-third part of the expense and danger of these roundabout passages or voyages, and such as, for the payment thereof, it will never be worth while to make any difficulty to shun or avoid. Suppose, for example, that the duties of those staple ports should never be allowed to exceed, in the first place, five per cent. upon the value on exportations only to the natives; and, in the second place, five per cent. upon the value upon the importations as well as exportations to allies; and, thirdly, five per cent. upon the importations, and ten per cent. upon the exportations, to such other aliens as are not allies; and that, besides this, no advantage to be taken of merchants, their ships, merchandises, or other effects, for or by reason of any embargo, breach of the peace, letters of marque or reprisal, or war with any prince or state; but, notwithstanding these and the like difficulties, all merchants, merchant-ships, mariners, passengers, goods, or effects may be free from capture, seizure, or forfeiture within the same ports or their dependencies, or in the coming unto or going from the same: certainly these or the like orders or institutions would naturally for ever deprive all others, not only of the means, but of the inclination and courage, so much as to think of any byways or new undertakings. Thus, after this brief hint of the circumstances and tendencies of this design, we shall now proceed to the giving of a fuller view of the reasonableness and advantage thereof, together with the good consequences that may be expected therefrom.

The Proposals.

First. That, after having possessed ourselves of these doors of what the Spaniards used to proudly call their king's summer chambers, or, more properly speaking, the keys of the Indies and doors of the world, the passes between the seas and of the Gulf of Florida, we endeavour to secure the same to posterity by breaking to pieces those unheard-of prohibitions and exclusions in all those places of the world.

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Secondly. That we not only grant a permission trade to the people of all nations upon easy and reasonable terms, but likewise, by means of those staple ports, and of our command of the sea, we order matters so as may best shake and overturn the present tyranny in the Indies, that the natives everywhere may get an opportunity and be induced to set up for themselves, and be for the future enabled to maintain the freedom of their governments and trade, under the glorious and easy protection of his Majesty.

Thirdly. That the permission-trade to and at our staple ports be settled and established on the following terms; that is to say, —that a duty of not exceeding five per cent. of the value of their importations be paid by all subjects or natives; secondly, that such aliens as are allies be admitted to trade upon paying a duty not exceeding five per cent. of the value of their importations over and above the like duty of five per cent. on the exportation; and thirdly, that all such aliens as are not allies may be permitted upon payment of five per cent. on the value imported, as likewise a duty of not exceeding ten per cent. of the value exported from the said ports.

Fourthly. That the ships, goods, and merchandise, persons, or other effects belonging to merchants or others, of what nation or quality soever, either in the said ports or their dependencies, or in the way of directly going or coming from the same in the way of trade, may be free from any restraint, for or by reason of any breach of the peace, declaration of war, other reason of state, or pretence whatever, real damages done, or debts *bonâ fide* contracted, only excepted.

Fifthly. That the ships, merchants, mariners, manufacturers, and other labouring people who shall come to dwell or inhabit in the islands of Britain or Ireland, or any of the territories or dominions thereunto belonging, may, after six weeks' abode, and the payment of two-and-a-half per cent. of their estates' value or worth during the first three years, be of course naturalised; wherein it is always understood that no man or woman of twenty

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years and upwards be valued at less than five-and-twenty pounds sterling.

Sixthly. That over and above the said duty on importations and exportations towards supporting and maintaining the guard and commerce of the sea, securing and maintaining of the ports, one-tenth part of all gold, silver, copper, quicksilver, pearls, stones of value, ambergris, spices, salt, pitch, precious woods, and such like, as the same shall be found or procured, be likewise yielded and paid by the government.

Seventhly. That, besides the said duties, no impositions may for ever be laid upon the inhabitants without their own consent, and that neither, excepting only toward securing and maintaining their respective governments.

Eighthly. That besides the necessary fleets, guards of the seas, convoys, cruisers, runners, and the like, to be furnished by the government, a sum not exceeding the sum of 2,400,000*l.*, or 800,000*l.* per annum for three years, either by the government as a national stock, and to be managed by a national council of trade, or by particular undertakers, or by both, be raised for carrying on this design.

Ninthly. That Scotland and Ireland may not only be admitted into this trade, but likewise to advance and put in such share of the stock or capital fund as may be proportionable, and not exceeding their respective values or capacities in the payment of public duties as compared with England.

Tenthly. That in case the said stock or fund or any part thereof shall be agreed to be raised by particular undertakers, such particular stock may have only one moiety of the before-proposed duties or impositions in consideration of the whole, and so proportionable to the share or part of the stock raised by such particular undertakers, and this only for the term of twenty years, and afterwards to have their first stock or principal money refunded by the government: but that the remaining part of such duties and impositions may for ever be appropriated towards supporting and maintaining his Majesty's

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royal navy, the command of the sea, and the extraordinary charge of the ports, places, and possessions in the Indies.

Eleventhly. That however the stock be advanced, yet the matter may be governed by a national council of trade; and that the proprietors, in case the whole stock be raised by such, may only depute one moiety of the managers and directors, or otherwise, in proportion to the part or share of the said joint stock advanced and paid in by such particular persons.

Twelfthly. Over and above what encouragement and support the government of these nations shall have given to the said design, as it was before proposed, that, in case of war, there be a fund settled by Parliament for allowing twenty or five-and-twenty per cent. of the equipages that shall be made by particular persons for making captures on the enemy by sea or by land.

Thirteenthly. That, since the experience gained and discoveries made in the late expeditions and attempt of the Scots may doubtless be of great advantage and use to any future attempt of this nature, it is therefore proposed that their loss thereby may be refunded out of the success of the design; the which will not be only an act of justice, but of the greatest prudence, and capable of giving entire satisfaction, and effectually to gain the hearts of that people in this juncture.

The Benefits and Advantages to be gained or expected from this Design.

The advantages we have to expect in return for the first expense and hazard may be herein guessed at in the following manner:—

First. Although the extraordinary sum proposed be two millions, and four hundred thousand pounds, to be paid in three years, yet, if this design shall be begun and carried on by the before-mentioned method and institutions with anything of a reasonable management, we may justly hope that one-half of this sum may be sufficient; since, even during the three years pro-

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posed for laying the foundation thereof, our enemies or rivals may possibly be brought to furnish no small share of those expenses; and after the said three years we trust this undertaking shall not only be capable of supporting itself, but likewise of bringing great advantages and benefit to the government and mother country. But if, instead of a reasonable probability, we were next to certain the expense could not exceed one-half of the sum proposed, yet, in the nature of the thing, there ought to be a double stock in such doings or designs; that is to say, one moiety to be at home, as well to support as to secure the good success of the other abroad.

Secondly. In the second place, let us suppose that the returns from the West may for the last thirty years, in a medium, have amounted to about eighteen millions of pounds sterling yearly, and those from the East Indies about three—suppose four—millions of pounds sterling yearly; in all, about twenty-two millions yearly; that these returns will not be less considerable in time to come, and that by good order and management at least two-thirds thereof, or about fifteen millions yearly, may in a few years be brought to enter in and circulate through these passes and staple ports; and that one-third, therefore, or five millions yearly, may now be traded for by natives of his Majesty's dominions, and to pay five per cent. duty, or about 250,000*l.*; but that the remaining two-thirds, being traded for by foreigners, may, one with the other, pay at least one-tenth part upon the import and export, or about one million sterling, which would make in all, export and import, about 1,250,000*l.* Then for the tenth part of the productions of nature, such as gold, silver, copper, quicksilver, stones of value, pearls, spices, saltpetre, ambergris, precious woods, and such like, we shall not here venture to guess at the whole, but only give a hint at the mines already known and discovered up the isthmus of America, viz. those of Taligne, Achiere, and Sabulas, which were first found about the year 1682, and the great mine of Cana, which was discovered about a year ago. In those mines

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there are employed, or were lately employed, near 2,000 negroes, and room enough, as they say, for more than ten times as many, who, one with another, are obliged, besides their own subsistence, to get for their masters at the rate of three *castellanos* of gold per day, or, in the whole, about the rate of 720 marks of silver per week. Now, if this were in our hands, who can find and afford negroes at a sixth part they usually cost the Spaniards, there is no doubt we could and would employ at least ten times as many on this and the like work, and have thereby reason to believe we should be able weekly to produce a proportionable quantity of gold, or about 7,200 marks, the tenth part whereof would be 720 marks per week, or about one million of pounds sterling yearly; and, together with the sum proposed to arise from the duties and impositions, would amount to 2,250,000*l.* yearly; the which sum of 2,250,000*l.* is supposed to arise from the impositions and the duties on the mines only, without reckoning what may be supposed to be produced by the other extraordinary productions of nature, and besides what may justly be expected to arise by the improvement of the general trade, when it shall come to be delivered from the untoward management of the Spaniards. And if, as in the like cases, the consumption may be supposed to rise and increase in proportion to the fall in the price, then we justly suppose that the computations may, in a few years, not only be much higher but at least double what they are here stated.

Fourthly. So that, besides the returns and advantages that may be supposed to arise for and in consideration of the advancement of the stock, those duties arising from a permission trade may be made capable of being a most noble and inexhaustible fund for the support and maintenance of the naval forces of this island, and abundantly sufficient, not only to enable his Majesty to be the true and effective guardian of the sea and protector of the commercial world, but all this without impositions or expense to his dominions in Europe, excepting only for the maintenance of the civil and military government ashore.

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For, although the maintenance of the civil and military government of those places in the Indies will doubtless be very expensive, yet excise and other easy ways of taxing might be thought on sufficient to maintain their respective governments, and so as these duties for the permission trade might come without any abatement or defalcation to the mother country.

Fifthly. When these doors of the seas and the passes of the Indies shall be possessed, secured, and regulated by rules by no means interfering with these solid, safe, general, extensive, and advantageous principles of a general naturalisation, liberty of conscience, and a permission trade, the rest of America, without leave from, or a good correspondence with these, can never after be worth the expense of keeping to any European nation, unless such place or places can possibly produce another better or far cheaper commodity, the which, under these circumstances, can hardly be supposed to happen.

Sixthly. When to the command of the one and the other sea we shall have added those staple ports of the Isthmus and the Havannah, by keeping good and well-ordered fleets, convoys, cruisers, and runners of our own, and given sufficient encouragement for captures upon our enemies, the French, Spaniards, or others with whom we may happen to be at war, may easily be brought to be at the expense at least of three halfpence for every penny or penny's-worth they can possibly get from the Indies, the which will doubtless be the most certain and effective means, not only of bringing them to peace, but such a peace as it shall never more be in their power to break.

Seventhly. Likewise, by the command of those passes and the seas, we shall be easily able either to give way to the natives to break and shake off the unjust and tyrannical yoke of the Spaniards, or, at least, break to pieces and banish from among mankind these unheard-of and barbarous exclusions, which render all their ports and places, so far from being a benefit, to be for ever a great loss and disadvantage to your Majesty.

Eighthly. As the greatest and most sensible expense of the

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nations of Europe, in their expeditions to and settlements in the Indies, is that of the loss of people by wants and hardships, and the many changes and rigours of the climate: wherefore, how destructive must it be for any country to create a trade, or make settlements in the Indies, on the foot of exclusions, and not upon those of a general naturalisation, liberty of conscience, and a permission trade, as hereinbefore proposed; since the consequence of the one must needs be, in the end, to ruin, as of the other to enrich the mother country.

Ninthly. By this constitution we shall be the better enabled to banish, exterminate, and root out all those pernicious restraints, prohibitions, pre-emptions, and exclusions now in these nations, not only in respect to foreigners, but even with respect to one another, since here will be a door opened at once to double, treble, nay, with anything of a good direction, to quadruple our present trade, and so to place matters as from henceforward to be rather in danger of wanting hands for our work than work for our hands.

Tenthly. Herein may be found easy and sufficient room and opportunity for satisfying that late national loss of the kingdom of Scotland, contracted by their earnest endeavours to be the beginners and harbingers to this noble undertaking, and thereby everlasting obligations might be laid upon them, which would not only be a far more effective, but a cheaper and easier sort of conquest than has been lately talked of by some; since by this means not only the heads, hands, and civil industry of that kingdom, but likewise of Ireland, may be effectually added towards the strengthening of this centre nation, and consequently of the common cause, instead of being, as hitherto, no small part of our weakness, and left as a back door for the entrance of mischief upon every critical juncture.

Eleventhly. These small and easy duties upon the exportation and importation at the staple ports will, so far from being an uneasy imposition, as has been said, that they will not come up to one-third, or perhaps to one-fourth of the expense and danger

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of any of the other roundabout ways, insomuch that it will be hardly worth while to avoid the ports for fear of paying the duty. Thus is it expressly designed to be so easy and secure, as naturally to deprive others, not only of the courage, but of the temptations and means of attempting any other new or byways that may in the least interfere herewith; and as so small a consideration for and towards guarding of the seas, securing the ports and navigation against invaders, cannot justly seem unreasonable, or be invidious to any princes or states of Europe, especially the northern nations, trading towns of Germany, and other countries bordering upon the sea, who stand now excluded from trade and navigation in the Indies. They may hereby be entirely gained to our support and interest; for the thus having their ships, merchants, and other effects, as it were, in hostage, will be another kind, and more solid and effectual security and pledge of friendship than the old, and now the threadbare, way of mere treaties and covenants have been.

Twelfthly. Particularly here will be room enough in the design to allow of equal, safe, just, reasonable, and durable conditions of trade and navigation with the Hollanders, whose welfare, next and equal to that of these nations, all wellwishers to God's religion and the liberty of mankind ought to seek. Their no small share in the trade in the west will be naturally added to that vast dominion and mighty engine of theirs in the east; the which may likewise be thereby greatly corroborated, strengthened, and augmented, as well by the growth and increase of the trade, as by the addition of the Philippine Islands and other acquisitions bordering upon that side of the great South Sea.

Thirteenthly. For the obviating any reasonable jealousy, envy, designs, or rivalship in other nations, let them but consider that, since there is such a natural centre of the world, and staple ports for trade, were there no such juncture as this, they will certainly be always in hazard of falling into some dangerous hand. So, if this danger is so to be taken off and removed with understanding and judgment, there is no nation in Christendom with whom

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such pledges may and can be safely entrusted, or who in justice ought so reasonably to expect to be their keeper, as the British; not only by reason of their command of the seas, and the great expenses they have and must continue to be at for this, and in their holding and maintaining the balance and umpirage of Europe, and consequently of the world; but since, although it be doubtless the interest of these islands of Britain and Ireland, not only to be united among themselves in name and in word, but in deed and in thing, and that their hearts be effectually joined, that they should not, as hitherto, consist of several interfering jurisdictions, but be united into one empire, whereof England to be the centte country, and London to be the centre city: so whatever seems to be so much believed by some, yet it is likewise their interest never to have any great acquisition, nor to be potent on the continent, to add house to house, country to country, or heap kingdom to kingdom, as it is reckoned, or may seem to be, the interest of France, Spain, or other powerful nations of Europe. Conquest and acquisitions on the continent can never be otherwise than troublesome and expensive, if not dangerous to these nations; and, upon any considerable increase of such acquisitions, the removal of the empire and seat of government might, and would of course, from one of the most happy and flourishing nations, bring England to be one of the most miserable provinces upon the earth: since, after the removal of the seat of its government could hardly pass, but the shipping, trade, and industry would so quickly and naturally follow, as to leave it hardly in a condition of being able to maintain sufficient troops to keep the poor, oppressed, and abandoned people in obedience, suppose the troops were to be of the number of fifty battalions of foot and so many squadrons of horse, according to the present French mode.

Fourteenthly. His Majesty hath not only most reason to expect being master and keeper of these keys of the Indies, because of his command of the sea, situation of his dominions, and the great expenses he has and must be at in holding the

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balance of Christendom, the natural security our neighbours have against so much pretending to make any acquisitions or encroachments in Europe, but because of the power and faculty for acquiring thereof. Notwithstanding all the neglects and mismanagements passed, these islands of Britain and Ireland and the Dutch have at least two-thirds of the mariners, not only with respect to the three combined nations, but, as we have reason to believe, of Christendom; and not only so, but our and their shipping and mariners are by much the most vigorous, active, and capable of increase or improvement. As our southern plantations in the Indies will be excellent nurseries for transporting of seasoned men into this great garden, so those of the north may have as respectable and commodious nurseries to supply and support them with all manner of necessaries. Besides all this, blessed be God, we have already a liberty of conscience, and may easily be made capable, if not of a general, at least a naturalisation for merchants, mariners, manufacturers, and other industrious people, as likewise of a permission trade, with a better, nearer, and a more solid union among ourselves, most of all, which thing can hardly be less easily practicable among us, were there even such a thing as an inclination; and to this we may add, which is none of the least advantages, that, perhaps, among his Majesty's subjects there are, and can be found, more and better fitted and qualified persons for the leading and directing of this or the like undertaking than in all the rest of Europe beside.

A Brief and Summary Account of the Whole.

To conclude. There will be herein more than means sufficient for laying the foundations of our trade, and improvement as large and extensive as his Majesty's empire, and to order matters so, that the designs of trade, navigation, and industry, instead of being like bones of contention, as hitherto, may for the future become bands of union to the British kingdoms; since here will not only plainly and visibly be room enough for these, but, if need were, for many more sister nations. Thus they will not

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only be effectually cemented, but, by means of these storehouses of the Indies, this island, as it seems by nature designed, will of course become the emporium of Europe. His Majesty will then be effectually enabled to hold the balance and preserve the peace among the best and most considerable, if not likewise amongst the greatest part of mankind, from which he hath hitherto principally been hindered and disabled by the mean and narrow conceptions of monopolists and hucksters, who have always, and, if not carefully prevented, will still be presuming to measure the progress of the industry and improvements of the very universe, not by the extent and nature of the thing, but by their own poor, mistaken, and narrow conceptions thereof.

Finally, herein and thereby it will be manifest that trade is capable of increasing trade, and money of begetting money to the end of the world.

Since the Isthmus of America, all things considered, is in healthfulness and fruitfulness inferior to few if any of the other places in the Indies, as naturally producing plenty of gold-dust, dye-woods, and other valuable growths, vast quantities and great variety of the best timber for shipping in the known world, and is capable of yielding sugar, tobacco, indigo, cocoa, vanilla, annatto, cotton, ginger, and such like, of the best, and in very great abundance. But besides, and above all, as being an isthmus, and seated between the two vast oceans of the universe, furnished on each side with excellent harbours, between the principal whereof lies the more easy and convenient passes between the one and the other sea. These ports and passes, being possessed and fortified, may be easily secured and defended by eight or ten thousand men against any force, not only there already, but that can possibly be found in those places which are not only the most convenient doors and inlets into, but likewise the readiest and securest means, first of gaining, and afterwards for ever keeping, the command of the spacious South Sea, which, as has been already said, as it is the greatest, so even, by what thereof we already know, it is by far the richest side of the world.

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Those ports, so settled with passes open, through them will flow at least two-thirds of what both Indies yield to Christendom, the sum whereof in gold, silver, copper, spices, saltpetre, pearls, emeralds, stones of value, and such like, will hardly amount to less than thirty millions of pounds sterling yearly. The time and expense of the voyage to China, Japan, and the richest part of the East Indies, will be lessened more than a half, and the consumption of European commodities soon be more than doubled, and afterwards yearly increased.

The addition of the port of Havannah to those ports and passes of the Isthmus will render this design altogether complete. The Havannah is capable of being defended with five or six thousand seasoned men ashore, and the situation thereof upon one of the best and greatest islands, not only of America, but, it may be, in the world,—as lying in the centre between the northern and southern parts of America, and thereby making a pass of the greatest consequence, and a natural bridle to all that great inlet commonly called the Gulf, and no small awe to the navigation of the whole Bay of Mexico,—with a fruitful soil and healthful climate as any in the Indies, insomuch that we may venture to affirm that the ground and the soil of this island being added to that of the isthmus, if need were, might easily be made to produce a greater quantity of sugar, tobacco, indigo, cocoa, and such like Indian growth, than ever can possibly be demanded or consumed by the trading world. Thus these doors of the seas and the keys of the universe would of course be capable of enabling their possessors to give laws to both oceans, and to become the arbitrators of the commercial world, without being liable to the fatigues, expenses, and dangers, or of contracting such guilt and blood, as Alexander and Cæsar; since, as in theirs and all other empires that have been anything universal, the conquerors have at least been obliged to seek out their conquests from far; so the force and universal influence of those attractive magnets are such as can much more effectually bring empire home to their proprietors' doors.

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The Conclusion.

Having said thus much of the nature, tendency, weight, and consequence of this design, we ought, in the next place, to proceed to the thought of an ample scheme of mature and ripe instructions for the more exactly describing and delineating the respective places, situations, difficulties, and the several natures and manners of the necessary attempts and undertakings; but, partly because there appears to be a considerable space of time to the execution, wherein it is likely some, and perhaps material, change and alteration may happen in these or some of those matters; as likewise, notwithstanding any care that may be taken to the contrary, yet, lest these papers might in the meantime come to be seen or perused by others than those for whom they are designed, we shall, for the present, delay our thoughts of the particular methods to be taken and means to be used in the execution; and shall, God willing, make this, together with some of our most material thoughts of the better ordering and regulating the naval forces of this island, the second part of this discourse.

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THE

WEDNESDAY'S CLUB DIALOGUES

UPON

THE UNION.

(London, 8vo. 1706, pp. 156).

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE form of this tract, in conversations of members of a club in the City of London, and the abrupt opening, as if the club were met on a certain day after a previous adjournment, give to it the appearance of being a report of real proceedings. It is nevertheless probable that Paterson feigned this society, as a convenient way of producing and combating the various opinions prevalent on the subject of the Union of England and Scotland, in which he at last includes Ireland. Like his illustrious fellow-patriot, Wallace, four hundred years before, he advocated that Union on *equal* terms; and a striking point in this tract is its historical deduction, not only that, till late events had irritated Scotland, the wish for a legislative Union was once all but universal, but that for "ages" *the Union* was felt to be essential to the general welfare of the island.

One of the members of the club, Mr. Hope, says, "above five years ago, and so for twenty years before, I did not know one in Scotland who was not for the Union at any rate." Another, Mr. Rose, observes, "There is nobody in Scotland against the Union; only the question is, what kind of Union it shall be." A third, Mr. Bruce, adds, "I am one of those who believe few, if any, of my countrymen are against the Union." And Mr. Grant concludes, "I incline to Mr. Bruce's opinion; and the rather because before these angry times (viz. before the Darien troubles) my countrymen were zealously for the Union, as thinking nothing less could make this island, especially their part of it, happy and easy."

All these are Scots, who testify positively to a recent fact thus declared in 1705 as not capable of denial. The more remote historical deduction to the same effect follows: "For a considerable time before the union of the Crowns, all the more understanding part of the inhabitants of this island concluded nothing under heaven could contribute more to its security than by removing separate jurisdictions and interests, to bring them to be one people, having one heart and one inclination. Accordingly, at the accession of King James the First to the throne of England, an end was expected to be put to animosities which for ages had been so fatal to the British interest in the world."

In an historical point of view this tract well deserves to be studied; and it is a mystery, if not a reproach, that at the close of the last century, when the government was anxious to obtain a correct account of the antecedents of the Union with Scotland, in order to guide them in the question of the same measure with Ireland, Paterson's work should have been totally over-

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looked. At that time a very able keeper of the records, Mr. Bruce, was employed to draw up such an historical statement; and his production, privately printed for the ministers, is rare and very costly. It trusts almost entirely to Defoe's History of the Union; and, compared with Paterson's work, it may, not hypercritically, be called meagre. It, however, has the merit of containing a corrected copy of Paterson's remarkable report on the public accounts of the two kingdoms.

The profound reflections following upon the intrigues which prevented a thorough Union in former reigns, not excepting King William's—especially upon the intrigues of the men who had enriched themselves by the disorders they encouraged, "in the matters of trade, about which most of the differences began," are worthy of Tacitus.

As those intrigues were "an ungodly work, a curse," it is asserted, "seems to have followed; for at this day we can hardly find a family, or but the remainder of one, raised by those means."

Paterson insists strongly on equal taxes, free trade, and a proportionate representation in parliament, as the rules for his scheme of Union. He is sanguine in his estimate of the growing prosperity of Scotland; and expatiates with obvious satisfaction upon the effects of improved methods of managing "the public revenue;" nor does he fail to say something upon the idle poor, the extension of fisheries, storing corn in years of plenty, equalising weights and measures, and the "silly and destructive scheme of altering the coin." His eulogy of free trade is perhaps unequalled in clearness and force.

The interests of the merchants were largely enlisted in favour of the Union; and the objection to their narrowness of spirit was popular, at a time when a violent rivalry still prevailed between the proprietors of the land and the traders. To this objection Paterson, himself a merchant, replies:—"Merchants, in a limited sense, may be bad advisers; that is to say, mere buyers and sellers, whose business and prejudices allow them not means nor time to enter into consequences, who, to get one, or perhaps half per cent. more for a commodity, care not who loses, or what others may suffer, and who for this reason are not only for limiting trade to their own countries, but to their own towns, or even to their own houses, if they knew how.

"The merchants, in an extended sense, are quite another sort of men,—their education, genius, general scope of knowledge of the laws, governments, polity, and managements of the several countries of the world, allowing them sufficient room and opportunity, not only to understand trade as abstractedly taken, but in its greatest extent; and these merchants accordingly are zealous promoters of free and open trade, and consequently of liberty of conscience, general naturalizations, unions, and annexions."

It is not an uninteresting proof of this tract having been written by Paterson, to find it attributed to him in the handwriting of Lockhart of Carnwath, and others of the reign of Queen Anne.

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AN INQUIRY

INTO THE

REASONABLENESS AND CONSEQUENCES

OF

AN UNION WITH SCOTLAND.

CONTAINING

A BRIEF DEDUCTION OF WHAT HATH BEEN DONE, DESIGNED, OR PROPOSED, IN THE MATTER OF THE UNION DURING THE LAST AGE; A SCHEME OF AN UNION, AS ACCOMMODATED TO THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE TWO NATIONS; ALSO, STATES OF THE RESPECTIVE REVENUES, DEBTS, WEIGHTS, MEASURES, TAXES, AND IMPOSITIONS, AND OF OTHER FACTS OF MOMENT.

BY LEWIS MEDWAY,

WITH OBSERVATIONS THEREUPON.

AS COMMUNICATED TO LAURENCE PHILIPS, ESQ. NEAR YORK.

LONDON:
PRINTED AND SOLD BY BENJAMIN BRAGG,
AT THE BLACK RAVEN IN PATERNOSTER ROW.

1706.

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Sir,

By the herewith inclosed proceedings, you will see that, although the point of an Union of this island be reasonable and plain, yet, like some other good things, it hath had the fate to be rendered intricate and doubtful to many, through the prejudices, humours, and secret designs of a few, by whom the necessary facts and material truths relating to this noble subject have been confounded and perplexed with names and phrases, and involved in multitudes of words without understanding.

And therefore it is that, after having omitted the trivial and frothy parts of the occurrences, and corrected the different dialects, our society have thought fit to transmit those inquiries in their native habit, and without any dress, that thus not only the matter, but likewise the manner, might the better appear, and that the characters of the persons speaking, as well as the things spoken, might be more easily seen.

This point being over, at least at present, the club have now before them the following subjects of inquiry:

1. Into the past and present state of the trade and public revenues of England.

2. Into the consequences of the late progress of navigation and foreign trade, particularly of the new discoveries in the Indies.

3. Into the reasons for establishing a national council of trade.

There are likewise several other things, of great weight and consequence in their view, the which shall be carefully com-

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municated from time to time, in order to the having your society's advice and concurrence therein.

But, since they are sensible that this island owes all the late distractions and disorders, by which it hath lost so much of its value at home, and of its weight abroad, to the want of an Union, and cannot be otherwise than of opinion, that the experience of the last age ought to convince those of this, that a kingdom divided within, or against itself, cannot stand.

Wherefore, as thinking the Union to be, not only a convenient, but necessary introduction to all their other public views, they have accordingly ordered me to request your application to this point, in the first place, and that you would omit no opportunity of transmitting your thoughts.

In expectation whereof, I am, with all possible regard,

Your affectionate friend and ready Servant,

LEWIS MEDWAY.

To Laurence Philips, Esq. near York.
April 9, 1706.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Opinions of books and pamphlets written upon the Union	173
Of leagues and confederacies	174
A scheme of a confederacy, by some called a federal union	176
Opinions upon this scheme	177
A scheme of limitations for the next successors in Scotland	178
Opinions upon this scheme	178
The general disposition of the kingdom of Scotland to the Union at the time of the Revolution	180
A letter from King William to the estates of Scotland upon this subject	181
The return from the said estates to his majesty's most gracious letter	182
Why the Union was not concluded at the Revolution	183
That the Union will be a security and balance to the respective church governments and the toleration in both kingdoms	184
That the laws and judicatures of both nations ought to continue the same as they now are after the Union	184
The rank and interest of the nobility of Scotland will not be prejudiced by the Union	185
A deduction of what hath passed in the matter of the Union since the accession of the kings of Scotland to the throne of England	186
The pretences for rendering the treaty in the year 1604 ineffectual	187
Proceedings of the commissioners of the two kingdoms on that treaty	188
Supposed motives of some who were then against completing the Union	188
How the effects of the want of an Union broke out in the years 1639 and 40	188
Consequences of the following leagues and confederacies	188
They terminate in a war between the two kingdoms, in which Scotland was reduced by the then prevailing power of the House of Commons	188.
How upon this reduction the Long Parliament sent commissioners into Scotland to treat with the estates of that kingdom of an Union	189
The Union agreed on by the estates of Scotland	189
The Long Parliament being dissolved or broken up before the Act for an Union was read the third time, Cromwell afterwards, having taken the government, united the three nations under a new regulation as to their representatives in parliament	190
A scheme of this representation of the three kingdoms, as likewise of the several proportions in the assessment in the year 1656	191
Observations upon the said scheme	191
Cromwell's ordinance for uniting of Scotland	191
Observations on the said ordinance	196
The ordinance for the distribution of elections in Scotland	197

Digitized by Google

PAGE
The like in Ireland 199
State of the Union till the Restoration 203
Differences which afterwards arose from several negative and prohibitory laws relating to trade 203
Commissioners appointed to adjust these differences . . . 203
A paper from the commissioners on the part of Scotland containing the state of their grievances 203
A paper presented to his majesty King Charles II. by several of the most considerable persons of Ireland, containing reasons for an union with that kingdom 206
The king empowered by the respective parliaments of England and Scotland to nominate commissioners to treat of an Union of the two kingdoms . 209
Proceedings of those commissioners 209
How and by whom this treaty was at last broken up . . . 209
Disadvantages to the two nations for want of an Union . . 210
An observation that the reduction of Scotland brought an Union of course, and that it would still be the same if either kingdom should come to be reduced by the other 211
The mischievous consequences of a spirit of contradiction after the Accession and Restoration 212
The excellent temper and disposition of the Parliament of England manifested in their frank and ready repealing of the late prohibitory clauses with regard to Scotland 213
An eminent instance of the bravery of the Privernates and of the generosity of the Romans 214
A scheme for uniting the two kingdoms 216
Observations upon this scheme 217
An expedient for the peerage of Scotland 218
Those who will heartily endeavour the Union ought not to range themselves on one side or other but be equally for the whole . . . 219
Why the number of forty is proposed as the representative for Scotland . 219
Reasons for some ease to the kingdom of Scotland in the matter of the assessments on land 220
Abatement or inequality of customs or excises contrary to the nature of the Union 221
That the equivalent to Scotland for the present debts of England ought either to be by way of ease in the land tax or in ready money . . 222
An estimate of the present revenue of England . . . 222
An estimate of what the revenue of Scotland may produce after the Union, and when upon the foot of the present taxes of England . . 222
An estimate of the present debts of England 223
A computation of the expense of the particular government of Scotland after the Union 223
An estimate of the equivalent to the kingdom of Scotland for the present debts of England 224
Difference betwixt the proposed interest of five per cent. and that of the present annuities 225

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Why the interest of the sum proposed for the equivalent is put only at five per cent. per annum 226
The present waste and expense for subsistence of the poor in England . 227
Why the rent-charge for raising the equivalent to Scotland is proposed to be made upon her majesty's revenue 227
A state of the weights and measures of the two nations . . 229
Of the several customs, excises, and new duties . . . 229
By the new or additional excises the Scottish nation will be only obliged to contribute a small part of what they will gain by the Union . . 231
Inconsistency of difference of taxes and contributions with an equal and complete Union 231
The dangerous tendency of the least remainder of restraints and prohibitions between the two nations after the Union . . . 232
A view of what benefits the kingdom of Scotland will receive by the Union . 233
The damage or prejudice which happened to Scotland by a late scarcity or famine for five years together 233
Advantages of national granaries 234
Benefits which may accrue to Scotland by the application of the proposed stock for the encouragement of their trade and fisheries . . 235
The ports of entry in Scotland, with what relates to the different coins, weights, measures, and such like things, may be regulated after the Union 235
An alteration of the coins in Scotland about twenty years ago . . 236
Consequences of this alteration 236
Doubts and scruples on the part of Scotland against the Union . . 237
That the expense of the kingdom of Scotland by attendances at London will after the Union hardly be more than it now is . . . 237
Doubts and scruples on the part of England against the Union . . 238
Answers or returns to those doubts or scruples . . . 239
The objections usually made against the Union, under pretence of preserving trade, are, upon examination, rather found reasons for than against it . 239
The wealth and power of nations consists in the numbers and industry of their people 241
A good institution of the national fisheries and granaries capable of employing and subsisting all the idle persons in the three kingdoms . . 241
That the British fisheries will not, or at least need not, be a prejudice to the Dutch, as is vulgarly pretended 242
That the Hollanders ought not to be clamoured against, but on the contrary deserve the greatest commendations for their economy and industry . 242
That the commerce of the world, as extensively taken, would not be advanced, but, on the contrary, rather brought upon the decline, by the fall of the Dutch 243
How dangerous it is for governments or states to listen to the insinuations of selfish negotiators in matters of trade 243
The Hans Towns, as likewise Spain and Portugal, have lost their trade by restraints and prohibitions 243
The fisheries of Scotland ruined by restraints and prohibitions . . 244

Digitized by Google

PAGE

The manner how 244
Several Acts of the Parliament of Scotland relating to their fisheries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries 244
Observations thereupon 245
The clamorous pretences for making monopolies of the fisheries in Scotland about two ages ago, much the same with those now brought against the Union 245
A distinction made betwixt mere buyers and sellers and merchants, as taken in an extended sense 246
The general knowledge of the laws, governments, and policies of the world, enables the accomplished merchant to enter into consequences, and judge of things, not as they seem, but as they really are 247
Accordingly such men as these are promoters of naturalisations, unions, annexations, and other such noble and generous principles . . 247
The intervening of the sea no objection against uniting with Ireland . 247
Opinions of the objections, or rather clamours, usually brought against the Union 248
Nothing less or below a complete Union, capable of securing the religion, laws, liberties, peace, and happiness of this island 249
No negative put upon any part of the laws, liberties, or constitutions of either nation by the proposed scheme of an Union 249
The Union a necessary preliminary to all the great and good things those nations have in view 250
Her majesty's most gracious speech to the commissioners of both kingdoms, at the last treaty of Union, to this purpose 251

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

WEDNESDAY'S CLUB IN FRIDAY STREET,

UPON THE SUBJECT OF

AN UNION WITH SCOTLAND.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 19TH, 1705,

THE society having upon the 14th of November adjourned the further consideration of the point of an Union with Scotland to this day.

When, being accordingly met, Mr. Brooks said, he had of late employed no small part of his time in perusing such books, pamphlets, or papers, as have been written, either for, against, or any way relating to an Union with Scotland.

But, to his great disappointment, found the most part to consist either in long, tedious, and perplexed heaps of words, or at best but of ordinary and trifling matter.

Mr. May said he was sorry to find that, instead of coming to the point, the writers upon the Union had spent so much of their time in distinguishing and refining upon such niceties as either signify nothing, or at best very little to that or any other purpose.

But I make a great difference between the former and latter performances (says Mr. Sands); for, although those have usually handled the matter as if they were filled with their own conceits, more than the thing, or as if they had been somewhat too long at school, yet are they still so good natured

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as either to wish us a nearer and more complete union, or at least that things may remain as they are.

But some of our new politicians are pleased to reason from the things, not as they are, but as they would have them to be. First supposing the two nations divided, and afterwards to be linked or tied together by some league, covenant, confederacy, or I know not what.

I likewise have seen all or most of the books and pamphlets you seem to mean (says Mr. Jones from the chair), but look upon them, especially those of late, only to be the performances of prejudiced, splenetic, and uneasy people, or at best of such as either cannot or will not go to the bottom or root of anything.

It is therefore my opinion we come directly to the point of the reasons for the conveniences of an Union, without amusing ourselves with heaps of books and pamphlets, little, if any at all, to the purpose.

I am as much as any for coming close to the point, but, pray let us first see if we are agreed in it (says Mr. Hunt), for it is said there are not a few of the most considerable men in Scotland utterly against an Union, and, if so, we may spend our time to better purpose than upon a thing people will not have, though perhaps otherwise very good and advisable in itself.

I am sorry to find any gentleman so much misinformed about the tempers and dispositions of my countrymen (says Mr. Rose), since I am satisfied there is not a man of consequence in Scotland against an Union, the question being only about the manner, viz. whether it shall be an entire or incorporating, or only a federal union.

What do you mean by a federal union (says Mr. Jones)?

Such an union (replied Mr. Rose) as was formerly among the Grecian republics, and is between the cantons of Switzerland, and the United Provinces, at this day.

We have but a dark view of things so very remote as the leagued governments of Greece (says Mr. May); only this is

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sufficiently known, that unless they were in war with, or at least in imminent danger from some foreign power, they were almost always together by the ears, or in broils among themselves.

The present leagues of the Switzers have their subsistence principally from the great superiority of the Protestant cantons, and the immediate danger of the whole from the neighbouring potentates on the least misunderstanding among themselves.

The United Provinces of the Netherlands are kept together by the like causes, viz. the power, or influence at least, which the province of Holland hath over the other provinces, and of the city of Amsterdam over other cities of that province, together with the danger they are in from without.

And whatever speculations we at this distance may have, the wisest and most unprejudiced persons in those countries do daily desire and wish that their governments were more of a piece, and are sufficiently apprehensive that those different and interfering parts and interests shall one time or other be their ruin.

And certainly it would be inexcusable in us of this island to take these inconveniences of choice, which some of our neighbours on the continent have only from necessity.

You talk of leagues and confederacies, but with whom would you make them (says Mr. Brooks)?

With the Parliament of England (says Mr. Rose).

The Parliament can make no leagues, nor have any treaties (says Mr. Brooks); that is the Queen's prerogative, and not only inherent to the Crown, but absolutely necessary for the protection of her subjects.

Possibly we may differ more in words than in things (says Mr. Rose); and so handing Mr. Jones a paper, he said, here is a scheme of what I mean by a federal union, the which I desire may be read.

This paper was accordingly read three times, but being long

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and perplexed, it was, after much debate, by common consent reduced to the following heads, viz. :—

1. That the two kingdoms be united in the same successor, but have their different parliaments and judicatures.

2. That the management of what may relate to them in common be committed to a committee or common council, consisting of ten or twelve of each nation.

3. That the quantities and quotas of taxes be agreed upon from time to time by common consent.

4. That there be an equal communication and intercourse of trade between the two nations.

By this scheme, if we may venture to call it so (says Mr. Sands), the Government of the two nations is proposed to be transferred to twenty or twenty-four committees or directors. If this be a settlement, it is hard to say what is not.

Where intend you those commissioners or directors shall reside (says Mr. Hunt)?

Doubtless at York (says Mr. Speed). Methinks Berwick should be a fitter place (says Mr. More).

Certainly, if we in England should propose such a league, the gentlemen of Scotland might very reasonably ask, who should be the guarantees (says Mr. Gage)?

Tush! that is easy (says Mr. Heath); I doubt not but the House of Bourbon would readily accept of this good office.

But this must be after such a peace as I hope is pretty remote to them (says Mr. North).

I wonder how it ever came to be imagined that we in England should be inclined to the secret of such a league (says Mr. Brooks).

And much more, that we should be willing to keep it, if made (says Mr. Farr).

But how came you to call a thing by the name of an union which hath so manifest a tendency to a separation (says Mr. Hall)?

Whilst every one thus gave their sentiments at random, Mr.

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Jones, seeing Mr. Rose somewhat out of countenance, said, gentlemen, the matter we are upon is an Union; pray let us come to the point.

After some silence, Mr. Carr said, my friend Rose, you know I always told you, that though this fancy of a confederacy, or federal union (which name you said they gave it to set it the better off), might serve to please a few splenetic or discontented people, whilst kept up and whispered as a secret among them, yet when once abroad, it would never bear the light, but be ridiculed and run down, as now you see it is.

Instead of uniting, it so manifestly tends to divide the two nations, that I wish those you had it from have a good meaning.

Doubtless you know Mr. Perth, who first communicated this scheme to me (says Mr. Rose); he is a good sort of well-meaning man, and has taken a great deal of pains in this matter; so that, however it proves, I dare say it proceeds from no bad meaning in him.

Mr. Rose cannot but remember (says Mr. Grant) that I have more than once told him, whatever might be intended, yet to me it did not look very well that upon other occasions he has been sufficiently convinced; that of all sorts of deceivers your honest and well-meaning deceivers are the most dangerous; and that when a man has, by taking a great deal of pains, at last made shift to deceive himself, he from thenceforward becomes very sincere in his endeavours of that kind with others.

I am as much for an Union as any (says Mr. Shaw), and therefore always told Mr. Rose that whatever name himself or his friends might impose upon this their scheme, yet they could never cover or hide its manifest tendency to divide and distract rather than to unite; and, therefore, as a medium or expedient between an entire union and this sort of confederacy, some friends of mine proposed limitations.

That is a hard word, too (says Mr. Jones): pray what did you mean by it?

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We meant the settling the succession, with conditions upon the successors (says Mr. Shaw).

That might be well (says Mr. More) if the conditions were but good; but for better information be pleased to let us see them upon paper.

Mr. Shaw produced the limitations proposed to be made upon the successor, and they are as follow:—

1. That the next successors should not have the power of calling or dissolving of parliaments.

2. That they should not have the power of peace and war.

3. That they should not raise or keep up any forces by land or sea.

4. That they should not have the power of making or contributing to the making of any officers, civil or military, or in the disposal of any public places, stations, or benefits whatsoever.

This is a short, but comprehensive paper (says Mr. Jones); but to whom did you intend to give the things mentioned in this paper, since I find not you were inclinable to take them from the successors?

To the Parliament (replied Mr. Shaw); to whom else should we give them?

And when you had agreed upon those or the like conditions, to what would you have proceeded next (says Mr. Sands)?

To nominate the successor, and afterwards to make a treaty of commerce with England (says Mr. Shaw).

Successor to what (says Mr. Sands)?

To what but our crown (says Mr. Shaw)?

What you mean by your crown I cannot tell (says Mr. Sands); but certainly, after all these negatives put upon it, if it had been a crown it would have been a very metaphysical one, since I see nothing under heaven they could be successor unto: they were to have no money, no troops, no power, or means to reward or punish, or indeed to have or be anything else; and yet after all this you talk of settling your succession, your crown, and I know not what.

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I fancy (says Mr. North) this project has not been far abroad neither, it looks so very oddly, to say no more.

It is visibly of the same stamp, and has the like tendency, with that of the confederacy (says Mr. Brooks), and must proceed from men of the same principles, though perhaps of different humours and views.

It is somewhat tender, therefore I am unwilling to make further observations, but refer it to any cool or unbiassed person to consider what must have been the consequence of either of these schemes, contrivances, or what else you please to call them.

They know I have often told them (says Mr. Grant) that these fancies of confederacies and limitations could have no other consequence than proving a means of setting my countrymen together by the ears, and thereby the putting one of the parties under a necessity of delivering up not only their limitations and confederacies, but everything else, to those who should be able and willing to free them from, and revenge them of, their foes.

You judge rightly (says Mr. Speed); such causes must have such effects, especially in a nation who are not altogether without heats and animosities already, and who are naturally pretty warm as well as we.

We have had sufficient experience of the bad effects of different humours and interests since the union of the crowns (says Mr. May); how much more may we expect if ever this island should be so unhappy as to have the administration of the governments of the two nations entirely separated?

I have no mind to see the experiment (says Mr. Sands), but wonder how any one could suppose we in England should come up to a treaty of commerce under those or the like circumstances, especially since without a communication of government.

It is utterly impossible for a communication of trade to subsist.

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But suppose any troubles we were in, or the apprehensions of them, had induced us to make some impossible treaties or contracts, how long did they think we would keep them (says Mr. Gage)?

Till an opportunity for breaking them offered itself (says Mr. Heath).

The more I think of these confederacies and limitations the more I see their inconsistencies (says Mr. Jones); certainly had we proposed or offered such things as these to the gentlemen of Scotland they would have been very angry.

If you have any angry things to spare I entreat you would dispose of them elsewhere (says Mr. Hope), since I am afraid some of my countrymen are so angry already as not to stand in need of further provocations.

I also have had hints to this purpose (says Mr. Hunt). Pray what is the matter? what do they want? I speak not this as of myself only, but as from others who have a great disposition to please or do them good.

I shall endeavour to inform myself how the matter stands, and report it with the first opportunity (says Mr. Hope).

If you find they know what they want, or what they would have, even although they be angry, yet there is hope (says Mr. Speed); but if otherwise they are in a dangerous condition.

I hope you do not think any of my countrymen are so very angry as not to know what they want, or what they would have (says Mr. Bruce).

I wish none of my countrymen were (says Mr. Gage).

It is strange to see how men change with the times, the times with men, or something or other (says Mr. Hope); for about five years ago, and so for twenty years before, I did not know one in Scotland who was not for the Union at any rate, and now I know not what some men are for.

As I told you before I tell you again (says Mr. Rose), there is nobody in Scotland against the Union; only the question is, what kind of thing it shall be?

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What they do in Scotland (says Mr. Sands) I cannot tell, but it is not the manner here in England for people to say they are against a good or popular thing, only that this is not the right way, the proper persons, the fit time, or the like.

I am likewise one of those who believe there are few, if any, of my countrymen against the Union (says Mr. Bruce), only perhaps some may be a little troubled with the spirit of opposition, as I am apt to be when in a fit of the spleen or out of humour, but when we come to the business that will soon be over.

I incline to Mr. Bruce's opinion (says Mr. Grant), and the rather because that before these angry times my countrymen were zealously for the Union, as thinking nothing less could make this island, particularly their part of it, happy and easy.

This disposition of theirs appeared eminently at the Revolution, as you may see by King William's letter to the Estates of Scotland, dated at Hampton Court, the 7th of March, 1689, wherein his Majesty was pleased to express himself thus:—

"We were glad to find that so many of the nobility and gentry, when here at London, were so much inclined to an union of both kingdoms, and that they did look upon it as one of the best means for procuring the happiness of these nations, and settling a lasting peace among them, which would be advantageous to both—they living in the same island, having the same language and the same common interest of religion and liberty,—especially at this juncture, when the enemies of both are so restless, endeavouring to make and increase jealousies and divisions, which they will be ready to improve to their own advantage, and the ruin of Britain. We, being of the same opinion as to the usefulness of this Union, and having nothing so much before our eyes as the glory of God, the establishment of the Reformed Religion, and the peace and happiness of these nations, are resolved to use our utmost endeavours in advancing everything which may conduce to the effectuating the same."

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And this general disposition of theirs appears still further and more amply in the letter of the Estates of Scotland to the King, with the offer of their crown, dated the 24th of April, 1689, and signed by Duke Hamilton, their then president, wherein they thus expressed themselves:—

"We are most sensible of your Majesty's kindness and fatherly care of both your kingdoms in promoting their union, which we hope hath been reserved to be accomplished by you. That as both kingdoms are united in one head and sovereign, so they may become one body politic—one nation to be represented in one Parliament.

"And, to testify our readiness to comply with your Majesty in that matter, we have nominated commissioners to treat of the terms of an entire and perpetual union betwixt the two kingdoms, with reservation to us of our Church government, as it shall be established at the time of the Union.

"These commissioners do wait your Majesty's approbation and call, that they may meet and treat with the commissioners to be appointed for England, at what time and place your Majesty shall appoint.

"And if any difficulty shall arise in the treaty we do upon our part refer the determination thereof to your Majesty: and we assure ourselves, from your Majesty's prudence and goodness, of a happy conclusion to that important affair, so as the same may be agreed to and ratified by your Majesty in your first Parliament."

Nothing can be more full or expressive upon the Union than this letter; wherein the word "entire" is made use of the first time I remember it in any public paper upon the subject; and therefore how some of my countrymen come now to be so much at variance with their own word I cannot imagine.

One would conclude from this (says Mr. Jones), that at the Revolution the Union was in a fair way. Pray what then hindered it from being effected?

Upon this the king recommended it very earnestly to the

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parliament of England (continued Mr. Grant), but nothing was done.

Pray what do you think was the reason of the coldness on the part of England at the Revolution (says Mr. North)?

The reason was plain (says Mr. Grant); my countrymen proceeded to the declaring King William and Queen Mary upon the bare promise of an Union, without seeing it first effected, and were afterwards (as is usual with them) left to repent at leisure what they had done in haste. Since their crown being once settled they were thought no more worth notice, much less the trouble of a treaty.

This neglect bore very hard upon their spirits; and no doubt has been one of the principal causes of their discontents; though the miscarriage of their late undertakings to the West Indies proved the occasion of their breaking out.

After some effects of their discontents upon this miscarriage, the king did what he could to compose those matters, but still reckoned, as formerly, that nothing but an Union could do it effectually; he therefore recommended a nearer and more complete union to the Parliament of England with great earnestness, renewing this his recommendation a few days before his death; and how much her present Majesty has pressed this matter since her happy accession to the throne is sufficiently known.

But must not we be obliged to part with our sovereignty and independency by this Union (says Mr. Carr)?

Neither nation can be said to part with or lose their sovereignty by the Union (replied Mr. May), since the two sovereignties will thereby be made or consolidated into one; and thereby those partition walls of independencies with regard to one another will be taken away.

To come to particulars (says Mr. Carr), what has always frightened me most from the thoughts of an Union has been the apprehensions of its inconsistency with the preservation of the Presbyterial Church government in Scotland. Wherefore, in in the first place, I desire to know how that can be secured?

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The security of the Church governments of both kingdoms (says Mr. May) is expressly provided for in the respective acts of parliament lately passed for a treaty; the which of course makes this to be the first fundamental condition of the Union; and not only so, but by the Union the two Churches and the toleration will become a natural poise and balance to one another; whereas otherwise (as we have formerly seen) some or other of these will always be in hazard upon the least rupture or misunderstanding between the two nations; so that, instead of bringing the Church government of either kingdom in danger, the Union will certainly be the greatest human security for them both and for the toleration, upon which their quiet and happiness so very much depends.

But how shall our laws and judicatures be preserved by this Union (says Mr. Shaw)?

Without doubt, the laws and judicatures of both kingdoms will be continued entirely as they are (says Mr. May); and thus it has been in all unions happily made, and of which we have examples almost everywhere, particularly in this island, where not only the principality of Wales, but likewise the counties palatine of Chester and Durham, have for several ages remained as a sort of separate jurisdictions in points of law and judicatures, although in a manner inclosed by several parts of England. Insomuch as it is but of late they have had the privilege of sending knights and citizens to Parliament.

The difference of laws and customs are certainly so far from being arguments against, that they are and ought to be taken among the principal reasons for an Union; since thereby the worst parts of both will the more naturally come to be discovered and mended, and the better parts improved.

This was the opinion of my Lord Bacon, and all the considerable men, who were for the Union in the last age (says Mr. Sands), but, as has been hinted, must be left to time, and the general concurrence. We see the different laws and customs of Wales, Chester, Durham, and other places of England, have

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never received any alteration without the unanimous consent and application of the places and parties concerned.

But what say you to the rank of our nobility (says Mr. Bruce); will not that be prejudiced by this Union?

Instead of losing anything, either in rank or otherwise (says May), the interest and influence of the peerage of Scotland in this island, and consequently in the rest of the world, may be considerably advanced by the Union.

If you make your Union upon this foot (says Mr. Rose), it will certainly be a federal union.

We shall not differ with you about words or names (says Mr. May), if you are but pleased to let us have the thing.

Men are sometimes apt rather to differ about words or names, than substantials or things (says Mr. Brooks); pray therefore let us agree upon the name before we proceed further.

When men are inclinable to differ and misunderstand one another, they are usually very nice about words, phrases, and names (says Mr. May); but I hope it is not so among us; however, I think Mr. Brooks has made a good motion.

I love words as well as things, when plain and easy (says Mr. Jones); pray therefore let us not pester and clog this word union with the epithets or additions of entire, incorporate, federal, or any other, but rather call it (as I hope we all mean it), a plain union.

Since I perceive the company are agreed upon the name, by which I reckon they have made a considerable progress (says Mr. Sands), pray let us now come to the thing.

Mr. Grant has been pleased to give us a very pertinent and succinct account of what passed in the matter of the Union since the Revolution (says Mr. Brooks); but I wish he or some other of the gentlemen would be at the trouble of giving a deduction of what hath been done, or endevoured in it, from the beginning of the last age.

This is the true way of discovering the necessary facts, and

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consequently of being rightly informed (says Mr. Grant), and in which we have none so capable as our friend Mr. May, if he will please to favour us.

Sir, you hear what the gentlemen say (says Mr. Jones); and since I doubt not but you come prepared, pray be pleased to gratify them in their request.

Mr. May made some difficulty at first, and would have put others of the company upon it; however, after this and some other such excuses as are usual on like occasions, he proceeded to give the following deduction.

For a considerable time before the union of the crowns, all the most understanding and least prejudiced part of the inhabitants of this island concluded, nothing under heaven could contribute more to the security and happiness thereof than by removing the separate and interfering jurisdictions and interests therein to bring them to be one people, having one interest, one heart, and one inclination.

And accordingly upon the accession of King James of Scotland to the throne of England, every one concluded this would of course unite the several interfering jurisdictions and interests, and consequently put an effectual end to those humours and animosities which for several ages past had been so fatal to the British interest in the world.

Yet after all this, to the great surprise of every one, the work of completing this happy union was first brought to a stand, and in a very few months all thoughts thereof laid aside.

From whence could this proceed (says Mr. Sands)? since it is plain the King at his first accession to the crown of England had sufficient influence in both kingdoms, and could not but know that by the removal of the seat of the government from Scotland, the completing of the Union was become not only necessary to the well being but to the very being of that country.

It is a hard matter to judge of things at such a distance (says Mr. May): but the blame is usually laid upon some of

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his majesty's followers, whose secret reason of being against it was, that they doubted whether they could be so considerable in an united nation as in one divided. But whose public pretences were, the preservation of sovereignties, independencies, and such like, as you will find by the limitations of the commissioners appointed by the two kingdoms to treat in the year 1604.

Who (as these had very superficial, perplexed, and precarious powers) handled the matter accordingly: and, not to trouble you with their long and intricate papers, I shall in a few words give you what I take to be the substance of what they then did, viz.

1. They agreed upon the abolishing of all hostile laws, and the memory of all hostilities on the Borders.

2. Upon a reciprocal naturalisation of the subjects of both kingdoms.

3. Upon a communication of trade and mutual commerce between the two kingdoms; but this last was clogged with several perplexed restraints, impositions, and exclusions.

These things went very well down in Scotland, where the court had still the sole influence; but in England, where the credit of some of King James's followers began to decline, they were not so easy; however, the Parliament here readily proceeded to the confirmation of such parts of the treaty as regarded the abolishing of the hostile laws and the memory of all hostilities upon the Borders.

But the articles relating to the naturalisation and communication of trade, they could not be brought to understand, as not knowing how they could subsist between nations who, though under the same king, yet still pretended to preserve their sovereignty and independencies with regard to one another.

However the judges found out a way sometime after, to declare and allow the natives of Scotland, after the accession of their king to the crown of England, to be Englishmen, and so it has remained to this day.

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The informations I have had of this matter (says Mr. Grant) leave me no room to doubt but the unhappy loss of that occasion of completing the Union was due to some about the king, who reckoned it their interest to keep the nations divided, that so by the playing the parties and humours against one another, they might not only have the better harvest but likewise more safety, and easily reap the public spoils.

Thus, as favourites often do, they sacrificed their prince and country to their own little mean conceits, avarice, and ambition, and left the Scottish nation without government or order, from which time their distresses and grievances, and consequently their discontents, increased; the which after having for a long time burnt inwardly and preyed upon themselves, at last the fatal effects thereof broke violently out in Scotland in the year 1639, and in England and Ireland in the years 1640 and 41, effects whereof we find not a few are now changed into causes, of which it grieves me to think, and still more to mention.

Mr. Grant has brought us insensibly to the times of our late misfortunate intestine broils, which begun about the year 1640, and lasted near twenty years (says Mr. May); and since I am sensible of your uneasiness at the remembrance of those unhappy things, I shall not mention more of them than what may some way or other relate to the Union, or at least to what was done or intended therein.

Soon after these misfortunate broils began, there was a league or confederacy made between the two kingdoms, the which, with various interruptions, continued for some years, until it was entirely broken in the year 1650.

When a war breaking out between the two nations, Scotland was thereby reduced to the obedience of the prevailing power of the House of Commons, who styled themselves the Parliament of England.

Well! and what was the effect of this (says Mr. North)? I hope when they had them in their power they took care to manage them.

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So they did (says Mr. May), for they immediately nominated commissioners to treat with them of an Union.

Did you not just now say they had reduced them by force of arms (says Mr. North)? Certainly, if so, they could have united, annexed, or done what they would without consulting them; what need was there then of the trouble of a treaty?

Though they had reduced Scotland by force of arms (says Mr. May), yet by what they did it is plain they thought it could not be so well kept or secured as by an Union. And that an union could never be so happy, when imposed, as by a treaty and mutual consent.

For immediately after the battle of Worcester, which happened in September, 1651, that is to say, in the month of October following, the Parliament nominated and appointed eight of their principal members, as commissioners, to go down to Scotland, and there to treat with the Estates of that kingdom of an union between the two nations.

The commissioners nominated for this purpose were—The Chief Justice St. John, Sir Henry Vane, junior, Major-General Lambert, Major-General Dean, Lieutenant-General Monk, Colonel Fenwick, Alderman Tichburn, and Major Salway.

Accordingly in March following the Estates of Scotland, being assembled at Dalkeith, twenty of the thirty-two shires and thirty-five of the then fifty-seven boroughs, agreed to the Union; and in their assembly at Edinburgh, about two months afterward, the rest of the counties and boroughs did likewise concur.

And since after this general agreement to the Union, several particular things occurred, which required a further treaty, the Estates of Scotland nominated twenty-one of their number, that is to say, fourteen for the shires and seven for their boroughs, to attend the Parliament of England, in order to the full settlement and adjusting thereof.

In consequence whereof the Bill for an Union, as likewise an Act for an Indemnity in Scotland, was, after several meetings

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with a committee of Parliament in the House of Lords, agreed unto, and ordered to be reported.

But before this report could be made, the Long Parliament was turned out of doors by Cromwell, by which there was a stop put to the Union, as well as to several other considerable things then depending.

The Long Parliament being thus dissolved, or rather broken up in April, 1653, Cromwell took the government upon him, and in December following assumed the name and style of Protector, and at his instalment signed an instrument whereby, among other things, the counties, cities, and boroughs of England, Scotland, and Ireland, were brought under a new regulation, with respect to their representatives in Parliament; as you will see by the scheme thereof, of which here is a copy.

Upon which Mr. May delivered to Mr. Jones a copy of Cromwell's scheme for a representation, as likewise of the several proportions of the assessment of 35,000*l.* on England, 6,000*l.* on Scotland, and 9,000*l.* per month upon Ireland, in the year 1656, which is as follows, viz.

Four hundred members for England and Wales in proportion to the rate of assessment of 35,000*l.* per month in the year 1656; thirty members for Scotland upon the assessment of 6,000*l.*; and thirty for Ireland upon the assessment of 9,000*l.* per month.

[The foregoing is the exact result of Cromwell's scheme, which is given in the original dialogue, with the details of each county and town returning members. (App. Z Z.]

By this scheme you see (continued Mr. May) that England and Wales was to have four hundred representatives, Scotland thirty, and Ireland as many.

You likewise see how those four hundred and sixty representatives were distributed, and what proportion they bore in the assessment of the year 1656, wherein although 70,000*l.* per month was settled as the quota or share of England, when Scotland was brought in for 6,000*l.*, and Ireland for 9,000*l.* per

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month; yet since this kingdom had for several years past been almost at all the expense of the war, they had the abatement of one moiety of their share or proportion of the assessment for three years.

That, with regard to England, Scotland paid somewhat more than one-thirteenth part of the assessment, and had somewhat less than a fourteenth part of the representation.

That Ireland paid near the ninth part of the assessment, yet had but the same proportion in the representation with Scotland.

This assessment of 70,000*l.* per month for England, 6,000*l.* for Scotland, and 9,000*l.* for Ireland, was reckoned equivalent to 2*s.* in the pound; by which you see they then valued the rents of England at 8,400,000*l.*, those of Scotland at 720,000*l.*, and those of Ireland at 1,080,000*l.*

But it is said that those stated valuations did not amount to above two-thirds of the real extended values.

Upon the 12th of April, 1654, Oliver and his council passed the following ordinance for uniting of Scotland with England:

"His Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c., taking into consideration how much it might conduce to the glory of God, and the peace and welfare of the people in this whole island, that, after all those late unhappy wars and differences, the people of Scotland should be united with the people of England into one commonwealth and under one government; and finding that in December, 1651, the Parliament then sitting did send commissioners into Scotland to invite the people of that nation into such a happy union, who proceeded so far therein that the shires and boroughs of Scotland, by their deputies convened at Dalkeith, and again at Edinburgh, did accept of the said Union, and assent thereunto. For the completing and perfecting of which Union, be it ordained, and it is ordained by his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging, by and with the advice and

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consent of his council, that all the people of Scotland and of the isles of Orkney and Zetland, and of all the dominions and territories belonging unto Scotland, are, and shall be, and are hereby incorporated into, constituted, established, and declared and confirmed one commonwealth with England; and in every parliament to be held successively for the said commonwealth thirty persons shall be called from and serve for Scotland.

"And for the more effectual preservation of this Union, and freedom and safety of the people of this Commonwealth so united, be it ordained, and it is ordained by the authority aforesaid, that all the people of Scotland and of the isles of Orkney and Zetland, and of all the dominions and territories belonging unto Scotland, of what degree or condition soever, be discharged of all fealty, homage, service, and allegiance, which is or shall be pretended due unto any of the issue and posterity of Charles Stuart, late King of England and Scotland, or any claiming under him; and that Charles Stuart, eldest son, and James, called Duke of York, second son, and all other the issue and posterity of the said late king, and all and every person and persons pretending title from, by, or under him, are and be disabled to hold or enjoy the crown of Scotland and other the dominions thereunto belonging, or any of them, or to have the name, title, style, or dignity of king or queen of Scotland; or to have and enjoy the power and dominion of the said kingdom and dominions, or any of them, or the honours, manors, lands, tenements, possessions, and hereditaments belonging or appertaining to the said crown of Scotland, or other the dominions aforesaid, or to any of them, any law, statute, usage, ordinance, or custom in Scotland to the contrary hereof in anywise notwithstanding.

"And it is further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that the said office, style, dignity, power, and authority of king of Scotland, and all right of the three estates of Scotland, to convocate or assemble in any general convocation or parliament, and all conventional and parliamentary authority in Scotland, as formerly established; and all laws, usages, and customs ordaining,

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constituting, or confirming the same, shall be, and are hereby and from henceforth abolished and utterly taken away, and made null and void.

"And that this Union may take its more full effect and intent, be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that the arms of Scotland, viz. a cross, commonly called St. Andrew's Cross, be received into and borne from henceforth in the arms of this Commonwealth as a badge of this Union; and that all the public seals, seals of offices, and seals of bodies civil or corporate in Scotland which heretofore carried the arms of the kings of Scotland, shall from henceforth instead thereof carry the arms of this Commonwealth.

"And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that all customs, excise, and other imposts for goods transported from England to Scotland, and from Scotland to England, by sea or land, are and shall be so far taken off and discharged as that all goods for the future shall pass as free, and with like privileges, and with the like charges and burthens, from England to Scotland, and from Scotland to England, as goods passing from port to port or place to place in England; that all goods shall and may pass between Scotland and any other part of this Commonwealth, or dominions thereof, with the like privileges, freedom, charges, and burthens as such goods do or shall pass between England and the said parts and dominions, any law, statute, usage, or custom to the contrary thereof in anywise notwithstanding.

"And that all goods prohibited by any law now in force in England to be transported out of England to any foreign parts, or imported shall be and hereby are prohibited to be transported or imported by the same law and upon the same penalties out of Scotland to any foreign parts aforesaid, or from any foreign parts into Scotland.

"And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that all cesses, public impositions, and taxations whatsoever be im-

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posed, taxed, and levied from henceforth proportionably from the whole people of this Commonwealth so united.

"And further, to the end that all dominion of tenures and superiorities importing servitude and vassalage may likewise be abolished in Scotland, be it further declared and ordained by the authority aforesaid, that all heritors, proprietors, and possessors of lands in Scotland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, and their heirs, shall, from and after the 12th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1654, hold their respective lands of the respective lord and lords by deed, charter, patent, or enfeoffment, to be renewed upon the death of every heritor, proprietor, or possessor (as now they do) to his or her heirs, by and under such yearly rents, boons, and annual services as are mentioned or due by any deeds, patents, charters, or enfeoffments now in being of the respective land therein expressed, or by virtue thereof enjoyed, without rendering, doing, or performing any other duty, service, vassalage, or demand whatsoever by reason or occasion of the said lands, or any the clauses or covenants in the said deeds, charters, patents, or enfeoffments contained, saving what is hereafter herein and hereby particularly expressed and declared, that is to say—heriots, where the same are due; fines (certain where the same is already certain, and where the fine is uncertain reasonable fines) upon the death of the lord, and upon the death or alienation of the tenant, or any of them, where the same have usually been paid, which said fine (not being already certain) shall not at any time exceed one year's value of the lands, and also doing suit and service to such court and courts baron as shall be constituted in Scotland in such manner as is ordained by one other ordinance, entitled 'An Ordinance for erecting Courts Baron in Scotland.'

"And be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, that all and every the heritors, proprietors, and possessors aforesaid, and their heirs, are and shall be from henceforth for ever discharged

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of all fealty, homage, vassalage, and servitude, which is or shall be pretended due from them, or any of them, unto any their lords or superiors whatsoever, claiming dominion or jurisdiction over them by virtue of the said patents, charters, deeds, or enfeoffments, and other rights thereof, or of any clauses or conditions therein contained other than is before declared and ordained; and that all the said superiorities, lordships, and jurisdictions, other than as aforesaid, shall be and are hereby abolished, taken off, and discharged; and that all and every the said deeds, patents, charters, and enfeoffments in that behalf be, and are hereby declared and made, so far void and null; and particularly that all and every the heritors, and others the persons aforesaid and their heirs, are and shall be for ever hereafter freed and discharged of and from all suits, and appearing at or any their lords' or superiors' courts of justiciary, regality, stuartry, barony, bailiery, heritable sheriffship, heritable admiralty, all which together, with all other offices heritable or for life, are hereby abolished and taken away; and that all and every the heritors and persons aforesaid, and their heirs, are and shall be for ever hereafter freed and discharged of and from all military service and personal attendance upon any their lords or superiors in expeditions or travels, and of all casualties of ward lands, formerly held of the king or other superiors, and of the marriage, single and double avail thereof, non-entries, compositions for entries, and of all rights and casualties payable, if they be demanded, only or upon the committing of any clauses irritant; and that the said heritors and persons aforesaid be now and from henceforth construed, reputed, adjudged, and declared free and acquitted thereof, and of and from all and all manner of holding, suits, duties, services, personal or real, and demands whatsoever, other than is before declared and ordained, notwithstanding the present tenor of any their deeds, patents, enfeoffments, or any clauses, articles, or covenants therein contained or mentioned to the contrary in anywise; and that in time to come all and every clause, covenant, article, condition,

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or thing to the contrary hereof shall be omitted out of all such deeds, patents, charters, and enfeoffments.

"And be it further ordained, that all forfeitures, escheats (simple or of life), rent, bastardy, and last heir, which heretofore escheated, forfeited, and fell to the king, lords of regality, or other superiors, shall from henceforth fall, escheat, and forfeit to the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth for the time being.

"Passed 12th April, 1654. Confirmed 1656."

By the preamble thereof (continued Mr. May) you may see that this Act for an Union with Scotland is founded upon the proceedings of the Parliament in 1651 and 1652 upon that subject.

Besides the exclusion of the royal family, there are several other negative clauses therein little if at all to our purpose, as the taking away the powers of assemblies, conventions, and parliaments in Scotland, the altering their arms, seal, and such like.

The taking away the wards, servitudes, and slavish tenures, was thought a good and popular thing in those days, insomuch that, even after the Restoration, they continued them abolished here in England, and gave an excise to the Crown in lieu of them; although, at the same time, several other good things were neglected for no other reason (I could never learn), unless it were from the abhorrence of anything promoted or done in those still recent times of usurpation and rebellion.

However, the wards and liveries were in the year 1660 again restored in Scotland, and so continue to this day: and it is none of our business to talk of taking them away, that motion must come from themselves, as in everything else they may find inconvenient; for, as I said, the Union itself is not intended to be such as to alter the municipal laws of either kingdom.

On the 27th of June, 1654, Cromwell and his council past the two following ordinances for the distribution of the representatives for Scotland and Ireland.

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An Ordinance for Distribution of the Elections in Scotland.

"Whereas, by the government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, publicly declared at Westminter the 16th of December, 1653, it is declared that the distribution of the persons to be chosen for Scotland, and the several counties, cities, and places within the same, shall be according to such proportion of numbers as shall be agreed upon and declared by the Lord Protector and the major part of the council, before the sending forth writs of summons for the next Parliament.

"And whereas his highness and the major part of the council, before the sending forth of any writs of summons aforesaid, did agree and declare the distribution of the persons to be chosen for Scotland, according to the proportion and numbers hereafter mentioned.

"It is therefore ordained, declared, and agreed by his Highness the Lord Protector, with the consent of the council, that the persons to be chosen for Scotland, and the several counties, cities, and places within the same, shall be according to the proportions and numbers hereafter expressed, that is to say, for the shires of Orkney, Zetland, and Caithness one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Caithness.

"For the shires of Sutherland, Ross, and Cromarty one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Ross.

"For the shire of Inverness one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be in the same shire.

"For the shire of Elgin and Nairn one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Elgin.

"For the shire of Bamff one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be in the same shire.

"For the shire of Aberdeen one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be in the same shire.

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" For the shires of Kincardine and Forfar one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Forfar.

" For the shires of Fife and Kinross one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be in Fife.

" For the shire of Perth one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be in the same shire.

" For the shires of Linlithgow, Stirling, and Clackmannan one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Stirling.

" For the shires of Dumbarton, Argyle, and Bute one, and the place for the election of such person shall be at Dumbarton.

" For the shires of Ayr and Renfrew one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be in Ayrshire.

" For the shire of Lanerick one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be in the same shire.

" For the shire of Edinburgh one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be in the same shire.

" For the shire of Berwick one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be in the same shire.

" For the shire of Roxburgh one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be in the same shire.

" For the shires of Selkirk and Peebles one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Peebles.

" For the shire of Dumfries one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be in the same shire.

" For the shire of Wigton one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be in the same shire.

" For the shire of Hadington one, and the place for the election of such person shall be in the same shire.

" And for the boroughs of Dornoch, Tain, Inverness, Dingwell, Nairn, Elgin, and Forres one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Inverness.

" For the boroughs of Bamff, Cullen, and Aberdeen one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Aberdeen.

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"For the boroughs of Forfar, Dundee, Arbroth, Montrose, and Brechin one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Dundee.

"For the boroughs of Linlithgow, Queensferry, Perth, Colross, and Stirling one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Stirling.

"For the boroughs of St. Andrew's, Dysert, Kirkcaldy, Cupar, Anstruther East, Pittenweem, Creil, Dumfermling, Kinghorn, Anstruther West, Inerkeething, Kilrenny, and Burnt Island one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Coopar, in Fife.

"For the city of Edinburgh two.

"For the boroughs of Lanark, Glasgow, Ruglan, Rothsay, Renfrew, Aire, Irvine, and Dunbarton one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Glasgow.

"For the boroughs of Dumfries, Sanchar, Lochmaben, Annan, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, White-Horne, and Galloway one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Dumfries.

"For the boroughs of Peebles, Selkirk, Jedburg, Lauder, North Berwick, Dunbar, and Hadington one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Lauder.

"And it is further ordained by his said Highness the Lord Protector, with the consent of the council, that for the effectual and orderly election of the persons aforesaid, to be chosen to sit and serve in Parliament, as in the said Government is declared, several writs under the Great Seal of England shall issue and be directed to the several and respective sheriffs of the several and respective shires, wherein the respective elections are to be made of the respective persons to serve in Parliament for the respective shires, and the respective sheriffs of the county, where the elections for the boroughs are hereby appointed to be made according to the distribution aforesaid; and that the respective sheriffs, to whom such writs shall be directed, are hereby authorised and empowered to make, or

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cause proclamation to be made of such writ in all the counties, boroughs, and places respectively for making such election and elections, and to issue his warrant to the chief officer of the place where such election for boroughs is to be made, notwithstanding the same be not within the shire whereof such person is sheriff, and to cause the elections to be made accordingly, which writs the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal of England for the time being shall seal, issue, and send forth."

An Ordinance for Distribution of the Elections in Ireland.

"Whereas by the government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, publicly declared at Westminster, the 16th of December, 1653, It is declared, that the distribution of the persons to be chosen for Ireland and the several counties, cities, and places within the same, shall be according to such proportions and numbers as shall be agreed upon and declared by the lord protector, and the major part of the council, before the sending forth writs of summons for the next Parliament.

"And whereas his highness and the major part of the council before the sending forth of any writs of summons aforesaid did agree and declare the distribution of the persons to be chosen for Ireland, according to the proportion and numbers hereafter mentioned. It is therefore ordained, declared, and agreed by his Highness the Lord Protector, with the consent of the council, that the persons to be chosen for Ireland and the several counties, cities, and places within the same shall be according to the proportion and number hereafter expressed, that is to say,

"For the province of Leinster ten, that is to say, for the counties of Meath and Lowth two, and the place of meeting for the elections of such persons shall be at Drogheda.

"For the counties of Kildare and Wicklow two.

"For the county and city of Dublin two, and the place of meeting for the election of such persons shall be at Dublin.

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"For the counties of Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, and Queen's two, and the place of meeting for the election of such persons shall be at Carlow.

"For the counties of West Meath, Longford, and Kings two, and the place of meeting for the election of such persons shall be at Mullingar.

"For the province of Ulster seven, that is to say,

"For the counties of Down, Antrim, and Armagh, two.

"For the towns of Carrickfergus and Belfast one, and the place of meeting for the election of such persons shall be at Belfast.

"For the counties of Derry, Donegal, and Tyrone two.

"For the towns of Derry and Coleraine one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Derry.

"For the counties of Cavan, Fermanagh, and Monaghan one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Enniskillen.

"For the province of Munster, nine, that is to say,

"For the counties of Kerry, Limerick, and Clare two, and the place of meeting for the election of such persons shall be at Rabeal.

"For the city and county of the city of Limerick and Killmallock one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Limerick.

"For the county of Cork one.

"For the town of Cork and Youghall one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Cork.

"For the towns of Bandon and Kinsale one, and the place of meeting for the election of such person shall be at Bandon.

"For the counties of Waterford and Tipperary two, and the place of meeting for the election of such persons shall be at Clonmel.

"For the cities of Waterford and Clonmel one, and the place of meeting for the election of such persons shall be at Waterford.

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"For the province of Connaught, except the county of Clare, four, that is to say,

"For the counties of Sligo, Roscommon, and Leitrim two, and the place of meeting for the election of such persons shall be at Jamestown.

"For the counties of Galloway and Mayo two, and the place of meeting for the election of such persons shall be at Galloway.

"And it is further ordained by his said Highness the Lord Protector, with the consent of the council aforesaid, that for the effectual and orderly election of the persons aforesaid, to be chosen to sit and serve in Parliament, as in the said government is declared, several writs under the Great Seal of England shall issue and be directed to the several sheriffs of the aforesaid counties and cities, to make the respective elections of the respective persons to serve in Parliament for the said respective counties, cities, towns, and hereinbefore declared, which writs the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal of England for the time being shall seal, issue, and send forth."

About this time there were likewise several other ordinances and regulations, with regard to Scotland, passed by Oliver and his council, all of them, so far as I can learn, at their own request; the most part thereof, with several others for different purposes, were confirmed by an Act of the Representatives of the Three Nations, in 1656, which hath the following remarkable preamble, viz.—

"Whereas, since the 20th of April, 1653, in the great exigencies and necessities of these nations, divers acts and ordinances have been made without the consent of the people assembled in Parliament, which is not according to the fundamental laws of the nations and the rights of the people, and is not for the future to be drawn into example, yet the acting thereupon tending to the settlement of the estates of several persons and families, and the peace and quiet of the nations; be it enacted,

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by his Highness the Lord Protector and this present Parliament," &c.

Thus stood the Union for some years, during which, as I have had it from some of the most knowing men of those times, that nation was never more easy and happy in itself, nor justice more impartially administered.

At the Restoration, everything relating to Scotland and Ireland was again put upon the same unhappy foot as before the war. The ill effects whereof were soon after felt in many instances, but particularly by the passing and execution of several negative acts relating to trade, which not only awakened the old, but begot and raised many new animosities.

The Scotch made heavy complaints and remonstrances against these impositions and exclusions, but without any redress.

However, in the year 1667, the king was empowered to nominate commissioners to treat with those of Scotland, about the taking off, altering, or superseding several duties, impositions, restraints, or prohibitions; and accordingly commissioners were nominated, and had several meetings in January and February, 1667; but after all found it impossible to come to any resolution, so this treaty broke up, and came to nothing.

The things which the commissioners, on the part of Scotland, principally complained of on this occasion, may be seen by the following paper, the which Mr. May delivered to be read and inserted in our books.

"We have received your lordships' paper of the first of February instant, signed, by your lordships' order, John Walker, in answer to ours of the twenty-fifth of January last.

"To which we return this answer:—That, as we are and shall be very far from formalising in a business of such a concernment, so when your lordships shall consider the dates of our papers, we hope you will find we have not been the cause of any loss of time or delay.

"By your lordships' first paper you desired to have the whole in prospect, and we did conceive you had it by our first

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paper, wherein we represented that, contrary to the privileges declared to belong by law to his Majesty's subjects of Scotland, born under the allegiance of the king, and contrary to that freedom of trade enjoyed for so many years, some Acts have been made since the twenty-fifth of March, in the twelfth year of his majesty's reign.

"We expressed very particularly what related to the Act of Navigation, and where we said that, by other Acts of Parliament, since that time some goods and commodities of Scotland are at sometimes charged with a duty and imposition equal to or above their value; we doubted not but your lordships conceived we meant that branch of an Act charging Scotch cattle brought into this kingdom after the twenty-fourth of August. And that by the custom and imposition charged upon some goods of Scotland about sixteen times more than the foreign goods of the like nature, we meant the Act imposing 16*s.* 8*d.* on each weigh of the salt of Scotland, where only one shilling is imposed upon foreign salt: we mentioned also unusual custom exacted in Northumberland and Cumberland, which we conceived might have been very obvious to your lordships.

"These are the most material obstructions, and we little expected your lordships could reasonably apprehend any heterogeneous matters from us, seeing both our commissions are limited to the freedom and liberties of trade betwixt the two kingdoms, and to the impositions obstructing the same; yet seeing your lordships do still insist that we should first declare more particularly what we have further to propose, and give you a scheme of the whole, in compliance with this we do represent, that we expect your lordships will consent to the restoring his Majesty's subjects of Scotland to the same freedom of trade here in England, and the dominions thereunto belonging, which they enjoyed during the happy reigns of his Majesty's royal grandfather, and father of blessed memory. And for that purpose to the repealing all the clauses of Acts of

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Parliament here in England, which obstruct and destroy that freedom.

"Having fully expressed ourselves as to the first and greatest obstruction, the Act of Navigation,

"We now mention further, the Act for encouraging of Trade, the 15 Car. II. chap. 7, and by it the imposition on Scotch cattle, from the twenty-fourth of August to the twentieth of December, and what by that Act may be interpreted to concern the subjects of Scotland, as to their importation of fresh and salted or dried fish, which last clause depends in part upon the Act of Navigation.

"An additional duty laid on Scotch linen cloth, by the Act of Tunnage and Poundage, in the twelfth year of his Majesty's reign, being one full moiety more than is mentioned in the book of rates.

"That part of the Act 14 Car. II. chap. 7, which forbid the carrying skins or hides, tanned or untanned, into Scotland.

"That part of the Act for preventing frauds and abuses in his Majesty's customs, 14 Car. II. chap. 11, which obliges all goods and wares that shall be brought out or carried into the kingdom of Scotland to pass by or through the towns of Berwick or Carlisle; at least we shall desire an explanation of the same.

"The imposition laid upon Scotch salt, above sixteen times more than that upon foreign salt, 14 Car. II. chap. 11.

"The imposition laid upon Scotch beer, viz.: ten shillings per barrel, as if Scotchmen were foreigners, 18 Car. II. chap. 5.

"And we further expect that where foreigners or places beyond the seas are mentioned in any Act, that it be declared that his Majesty's subjects of Scotland, nor his kingdom of Scotland, are not meant, nor cannot be so understood to be meant.

"As concerning the unusual customs imposed lately in Northumberland and Cumberland, we mean that of late there have been demanded for every stoned horse carried into Scotland, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; for every gelding, 1*l.*; for every mare 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; for every quarter of wheat carried by land, 5*s.* 4*d.*; of rye, 4*s.*;

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of peas, 4*s.*; of big and barley, 2*s.* 8*d.*; and of oats, 1*s.* 4*d.*; upon a pretence of the Acts made in the thirteenth and fifteenth years of his Majesty's reign; and without any colour of law new imposts, as we are informed, are laid upon Northumberland coals carried into Scotland, and unusual customs upon ordinary market commodities brought every market day into Berwick.

"Thus your lordships have now the full scheme of all that is to be demanded by us in this treaty; but, because what we have given in relating to the Act of Navigation was the first in time, and is the greatest obstruction of our trade, and indeed without which our trade cannot be carried on, we still insist upon an answer to it in the first place, and then we shall willingly proceed to treat on all the rest in order.

"And we hope it shall appear we do and shall desire nothing but the just and reasonable removal of the obstructions of that freedom of trade so long enjoyed; and the continuing and strengthening the happy agreement of both the kingdoms, which is our greatest desire, and shall be pursued by us most heartily and diligently.

"Feb. 3, 1667-8."

Upon the breaking up of this treaty (continued Mr. May) it became still more manifest that nothing less than a nearer and more complete union could remedy those growing evils; and and this not only with regard to Scotland but likewise to Ireland, as among other things appears by a paper about that time presented to his Majesty by several of the most considerable persons of that kingdom, to the following effect:—

"His Majesty's good subjects in Ireland, upon the hearing of a proposal not long since made for the uniting England and Scotland, with all obedience and submission humbly conceive it a means conducible thereto, if the like Union of England and Ireland under one legislative power assembled in one Parliament might be settled *de jure*, in something the like manner as

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it was formerly *de facto*, to the facilitating his Majesty's gracious government of both kingdoms, dissolving of many intricate difficulties, taking away much of the root of difference and discord between the now many parties in his Majesty's said kingdoms, and strengthening his hands against all opposers both at home and abroad.

"*The Grievances for want of Union.*

"1. The judges are not agreed whether laws made in England (since Poyning's law) do bind Ireland, though it be named in them; so that embezzling, razing, and abusing records, too often practised, is not felony there as in England.

"2. The judges are not agreed how the Act 17 and 18 Car. I. made in the Parliament of England may consist with the Acts of Settlement and Explanation since made in Ireland.

"3. The people of England sent over and living in Ireland for his Majesty's service are accounted as foreigners and aliens in many things, viz.: that their goods from Barbadoes must come to England, that they pay double custom here, &c.

"4. The colonies sent from England are therefore the more disposed in a generation or two to turn Irish,* of whom at this day two-third parts are degenerated English, and of the remainder two-thirds are of the Welch; and but one-ninth of the old Biscainers chased by the Goths and planted there by leave from England; and the best of these, as the O'Brians and divers others, have become true English.

"5. If Ireland continue so to drain away men (as between the year 1649 and 1653 above 50,000 soldiers), both that and England, and our plantations in America, may want men, when as it may be so ordered as to help all the rest with supplies.

"6. Those turned Irish are against improvement, ornament, the king's revenue and interest there, and the advancement of trade. All these are promoted by the English planters, who, on any commotion, lose their improvements and stock (generally five

* See Stat. 4 Eliz. for attainder of Tyrone; and Milton's Histories.

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times more worth than their lands), their wives and children driven into England in distress, moving a general pity of their calamity, and indignation against their oppressors.

"*Advantages by the Union.*

"1. The less army would serve (trained bands might suffice), the English pale there being not completely four counties, for many years kept itself against the rest of Ireland without any great charge to England.

"2. The English upon such evidence and ground of establishment, and quiet in their possessions, a main point (possessed and dispossessed being a great foundation of differences there) in other things would be more disposed to any reasonable conformity, which their dependence upon England will oblige them to.

"3. The Irish being put from their hopes of having any more Irish Parliaments, will be the easier disposed to English habit, language, building of chimneys, and other manner of English living, according to many of our statutes still in force to that end; the want of all which things make the great consumption of the English there.

"Whilst this kind of union held de facto in the late times, the Irish generally went to the English Protestant churches, and did actually conform as above said.

"4. Neither then would the great men of all parts there, as hitherto, be so concerned to expel their English tenants and take in Irish, though at less rents, partly because they are more absolutely at their own command and slavish, partly to keep up the pretence and necessity of a greater army, wherein their relations, servants, and dependants have convenient entertainments.

"5. There is here the greater facility from the general use of the same laws in both kingdoms."

And the disposition for an union with Scotland so far prevailed, that in the year 1670 the king was empowered by the

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parliaments of both kingdoms to nominate commissioners to treat; the which commissioners were accordingly appointed, and had several meetings, but after all this treaty likewise came to nothing, the commissioners on the part of Scotland not only insisting upon their old pretences of preserving sovereignties and independencies, but likewise that by their constitution they could not so much as treat of an union until their whole parliament, and even all their constituents, had consented.

That at all adventures they would not treat of an union but only in the line of their king, James VI.

Those were pretty remote reasonings (says Mr. More), did they not come nearer to the point?

In compliment to the king (continued Mr. May), they at last offered to try if they could get their countrymen's consent to have the two parliaments joined, but would not abate one of their members upon any account whatsoever.

A good motion (says Mr. Gage); but did they pretend to come in for the like proportion of taxes as of representatives in Parliament?

When the proportion of taxes was urged as the rule and standard for that of their representatives in Parliament (replied Mr. May), they said there were many small boroughs in England which sent two members to Parliament, yet in the assessment did not contribute one per cent. of what was paid by some of the great counties and cities, and much more to this purpose, and consequently not worth remembrance.

These reasons are somewhat faint, to say no more (says Mr. Sands); we have had enough if not too much of them.

Thus you see (continued Mr. May) that though the first motion of a treaty came entirely from themselves, yet it was the gentlemen of Scotland who broke it off.

But (says Mr. Sands) methinks, since they had so altered their minds, they might at least have found more tolerable and plausible excuses than these; but pray what do you think was

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the secret and true motives of their breaking up this their own treaty?

It is said that some about court who at first fancied they could increase their power and influence by the Union (replied Mr. May), being afterwards convinced it would have quite another effect, accordingly took care to break up the treaty, as you have heard.

It is evident that this conduct of the commissioners for Scotland could not proceed so much from anything as from the ill-disposition of some who had the influence and secret of Scotch affairs at court (says Mr. Grant), since, both before and for a considerable time afterward, they could and did command obedience in Scotland without reserve, particularly in the matters of trade, about which most of these differences arose.

Would it not be worth while to inquire what hath been gotten or reaped out of these disorders (says Mr. Sands)? or what families have been raised by these kind of means?

As it was ungodly work (says Mr. Grant), so a curse seems to have followed, for at this day we can hardly find a family, or but the remainders of one, raised by these sorts of means.

It must needs have been a bad game where all have been such losers (says Mr. Hope): on the one hand the English say that by the accession of the kings of Scotland to their crown, instead of an addition of strength as expected, they have had nothing but trouble and umbrage from that kingdom; and on the other it is plain that, for want of a nearer and more complete union, the kingdom of Scotland hath been greatly prejudiced, since before this loose and irregular tie of the union of the crowns it is said to have been, with regard to England, in people as one to four, and in wealth as one to seven, but doubt if it can now come up to half that proportion.

I can hardly think your country ever came up to what you seem to hint (says Mr. May); but by what papers I have seen am apt to believe that Scotland was then much more considerable, with regard to the rest of the world, than it now is, since

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we find that even by the regulation in Cromwell's time they came in for about one-thirteenth part of the assessment, and the question is if they are now capable of coming in but for that proportion?

By what I have lately understood (says Mr. Hope) they can hardly come in for half what they did in Cromwell's time.

But what do you think could be the cause of such a decline (says Mr. North)? for one would think if they had been overrun by an enemy and governed by an army for half an age together they could hardly have been sunk so much as by this you seem to hint.

There is no doubt but a country abandoned is rather in a worse condition than when conquered (says Mr. Grant): for where a people are subdued the conqueror usually takes some care of his acquisitions; but when a place is thus left, although the names and forms may be still the same, yet hardly anything of the majesty or essential parts of government remain; the laws and magistratures being only so far in force as they can do harm, and consequently the inhabitants are rendered not only a prey to one another, but to the very servants of servants.

I am so far from wondering how Scotland comes to be so low (says Mr. May), that, considering their circumstances, I am amazed to think how they have made shift to subsist, as they have done, for more than an age together; for instance, let us suppose two persons or families of 100*l.* per annum each, the one increasing and the other consuming, but only to the value of 100*d.* yearly, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, for one hundred years' continuance. Pray what do you think would be the difference of those two estates at the determination of that time?

By this table of logarithms (says Mr. Grant) I find the estate of the gainer increased to about 250*l.* per annum, but that of the other utterly consumed, and he about 800*l.* in debt.

By this instance we may perceive the difference between a thriving and declining state of a family, country, or whatever

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it be (continued Mr. May); but besides this the progress trade has made in the world during the last century must have very much contributed to this alteration.

From whence I conclude that any tolerable conquest had been much better for Scotland than this imperfect and partial Union, which commenced in the year 1603.

You see the conquest in the year 1651 brought a Union of course (says Mr. Brooks); and no doubt but that would still be the consequence of either nation reducing the other.

That might do very well, for anything I know (says Mr. Grant); however, I presume it may be better to do it now by treaty than to stay till it be effected the other way.

Since the rest of the gentlemen seem to be of your sentiment (says Mr. Jones), pray let us proceed to the necessary directions about forming a scheme to be presented next meeting.

By what standard or rule do you intend your scheme shall be drawn (says Mr. More)?

You see equality of taxes and trade, with a proportionate representation in Parliament, were the rules about fifty years ago (says Mr. May); can any one think of better?

I wish we could find some other standard or measure than that of those times (says Mr. More); methinks I should be unwilling to follow or imitate rebels and usurpers in anything, especially in a matter of this moment.

I wish so too (says Mr. Sands), yet in the meantime find myself so much in temper that rather than want a rule methinks I could make shift with such as was in use even in those evil times.

I hope our friend Mr. More is only in jest (says Mr. May), otherwise I should tell him in earnest that to oppose or find fault with good things because handed from bad times, bad men, or perhaps only from such as we do not like, is as little a sign of sound judgment as it is of good nature.

Yet by this spirit of contradiction and opposition we may find that not a few of the ill things of the world have had their rise,

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and of the good things their ruin (says Mr. Jones). Particularly it is to be feared the matter of the Union now before us did not fare the better in the reign of King James for being so much in vogue in that of Queen Elizabeth; nor upon the Restoration, for having been so heartily espoused and brought to such consistency during the preceding times of usurpation.

But let us forbear taking any further notice of humours, or the effects of them, and proceed to name some persons to prepare and bring in a scheme of an Union at our next meeting.

Accordingly, upon this motion, Mr. Brooks, Mr. May, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Hope, together with Mr. Jones, were appointed to draw up a scheme of an Union with Scotland, in order to its being presented upon Wednesday, January the 16th, to which time the society adjourned the further consideration of this matter.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16TH, 1705.

Mr. Jones acquainted the society, that since our last meeting upon this subject the Parliament of England, to show their good and friendly disposition to the kingdom of Scotland, and the better to pave the way to the Union, had frankly and unanimously concurred with our gracious Queen in repealing certain negative and prohibitory clauses in the Act which passed last sessions, for empowering her Majesty to appoint Commissioners to treat of an Union.

I was much concerned some months ago (says Mr. May) to find many so warmly inclined to the passing such negative and hostile laws with regard to Scotland; as thinking this was the way rather to widen than to heal our differences; to heighten than to allay the heats and animosities among us. (App. AAA.)

But now it has happily given the Lords and Commons of England a noble opportunity of showing their temper and good disposition.

Are you in England likewise apt to do things, when warm and angry (says Mr. Bruce)?

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You see we, as others, are sometimes troubled with negative and prohibitory humours (says Mr. May); but that still we retain the capacity of mending.

Certainly what hath passed in our Parliament, with relation to the repealing those clauses (says Mr. Sands), deserves commendation to posterity, and has expressed a generosity of mind fit to be imitated by the best and bravest nations; and it is hoped the gentlemen of Scotland will thereby be induced to make such returns as may not only fix and continue, but increase, this friendly and regardful disposition, from which both nations may hope to reap so excellent fruits.

Now those hostile clauses are repealed (says Mr. Bruce), the Act intituled "An Act for the more effectual securing the Kingdom of England from the apparent danger that may arise from several Acts lately passed in the Parliament of Scotland," looks more like, and corresponds somewhat better with the title, than before; and I hope it shall have all the good effects in Scotland that can reasonably be expected.

This is certainly the true way to deal with my countrymen (says Mr. Grant), who, though otherwise a good sort of people, yet, like Rehoboam's subjects, are now and then apt to be a little stomachfull and stubborn.

This puts me in mind of a passage in Titus Livius* (says Mr. May). When the Senate of Rome had under consideration what punishment should be inflicted upon the Privernates, a people who had broken their federal union with the Romans,

A senator, who had been warm against that people, happening to ask one of their ambassadors or agents "What punishment he thought in his conscience the Privernates deserved for this breach of league?" was, contrary to expectation, answered, "Such as they deserve who think themselves worthy of freedom."

Upon this the consul, who had reduced Privernum, and was better inclined to its inhabitants, perceiving those who before were against the Privernates to be still the more exasperated by

* T. Livius, Dec. 1, l. 8, § 20, 21.

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this answer, endeavoured by a gentle question to draw from them some more modest and submissive language, and

Accordingly said, "But suppose we should wholly remit your punishment, what kind of peace may we then expect with you?" To which the other briefly, but still contrary to expectation, returned, "If a good and equal peace, we shall faithfully observe it for ever: but if hard conditions be imposed, we shall not keep them long."

What did they with the fellows (says Mr. North)? did they not order them to be hanged immediately?

Some were eager enough upon courses tending that way (replied Mr. May), who accordingly cried out, this was plain threatening, and the way to stir up quiet people to rebellion.

But there were others who gave this frank manner of expression a more favourable construction, saying, it was a speech becoming a man, and one freeborn.

That it was not to be expected any state, or indeed any mortal, would endure a bad and uneasy condition any longer than they needs must: that the peace can only be sure and stable which is voluntarily entered into; but that fidelity ought not to be expected where slavery is imposed.

That they deserved to be Romans, whose liberty was the greatest part of their care.

Upon these considerations, the senate and people not only pardoned the Privernates, but made and declared them citizens of Rome.

Thus you see (concluded Mr. May) that after the Romans had reduced Privernum they united with it, and that so did the English with Scotland; among many others that might be given, certainly these two are lively and noble instances that unions were and are good things.

After this Mr. Jones said, the gentlemen who were appointed to draw up a scheme for an Union with Scotland have concerted their thoughts thereof in the following heads, the which he read, and afterward delivered them in to be entered in our books.

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Heads proposed for an Union between the Kingdoms of England and Scotland.

"1. That the two kingdoms of England and Scotland be united into one, by the name of the Kingdom of Britain.

"2. That this kingdom be represented by one Parliament, under the happy government of our gracious Queen Anne, and of her royal issue, and in default of such issue under that of the most excellent Princess Sophia, electoress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, and the issue of her body being Protestants.

"3. That the House of Peers of the Parliament of Britain may consist of the present Peers of England, and of such others as her Majesty shall (according to her royal prerogative in that case) from time to time think fit to create, but whereof not less than twenty to be of the present Peers of Scotland.

"4. That the House of Commons of Britain do consist of the present representatives in the Parliament of England, and of forty others, as the proportion for Scotland.

"5. That the representation for Scotland be proportioned in such manner as the Parliament of that kingdom shall determine at the time of their agreement to the Union.

"6. That the Church governments of both kingdoms of England and Scotland thus united, do, after the Union, and notwithstanding thereof, remain the same as they now are, without alteration.

"7. That the municipal laws and judicatures of each nation do, notwithstanding this Union, remain the same without alteration.

"8. That from the time of concluding this Union there may be a free communication and intercourse of trade between all the parts of this united kingdom and dominions thereof, and accordingly that all manner of restraints, prohibitions, monopolies and impositions interfering therewith be taken off, repealed, and for ever abolished.

"9. As a necessary consequence of this free communication

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and intercourse of commerce in the kingdom of Britain, that there be the same home and foreign excises, customs, and other taxes and impositions, as likewise the same restraints and prohibitions through all the parts thereof.

"10. And in regard the kingdom of Scotland may not at present be capable of bearing such proportion of the assessments on land as in some time after having reaped the fruits of a happy Union, that therefore the quota thereof may not for —— years exceed what has been therein usually paid, nor in any valuations afterwards the medium of the six northern counties of England.

"11. That her Majesty will be graciously pleased to consent that a rent-charge of 30,000*l.* per annum, by quarterly payments, may be made upon her royal revenue, until a sum of 600,000*l.*, to be raised thereupon and allowed to the kingdom of Scotland as an equivalent for the present debts of England, shall come to be repaid.

"12. That so much as shall be requisite of the said sum of 600,000*l.* be in the first place applied to refunding the expenses and losses of the Indian and African Company of Scotland, with interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, as likewise for satisfying such public debts or obligations as there may be in Scotland at the time of completing the Union, and that the remainder thereof may for ever be applied and appropriated towards a fund for employment and maintenance of the poor, supporting, promoting, and encouraging the manufactures, fisheries, products, and improvements of that end of this island."

Thus (says Mr. Grant) the expense and loss of the Indian and African Company, being about 140,000*l.* principal money, which, with the interest at the rate of six per cent. for eleven years, will amount to somewhat more than 230,000*l.*

And, supposing about 100,000*l.* to be necessary for satisfying the public debts and engagements in Scotland,

There will remain about 260,000*l.*, which, together with the

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sums already imposed for the poor and the public charities, may be made a fund for maintaining and employing the poor and encouragement of the fisheries, manufactures, and other improvements of that kingdom.

I like this expedient for the Lords better than any I have hitherto seen (says Mr. Bruce), for here will be no breaking in upon their constitution by deputations, rotations, or such like things, not only quite contrary to the nature and dignity of the peerage, but violently tending to party and faction, since those deputies or plenipotentiaries would probably be all of a-piece to what side soever they should incline or fall.

But why is not the least number of Lords on the part of Scotland fixed at thirty (says Mr. Shaw), since possibly that might not only include the most part of the considerable families, but contribute the more towards making the remainder easy, as thereby finding themselves in a better way of advancement.

This number of twenty is only pitched upon as best suiting with that of forty, proposed as their representation in the House of Commons (replies Mr. May), but the queen is not limited in this matter; there being no doubt but in the case of an Union, not only twenty or thirty of them, but the rest of the noble families of that kingdom, will naturally fall under her Majesty's royal consideration and care.

I entirely approve of this expedient for the peerage (says Mr. Carr), and think it not material whether twenty or thirty be the stated number, since the thing has such evident reason as gives it weight to make its way.

But I do not so well understand the quota of representatives proposed for my country in the House of Commons (says Mr. Rose), as being but forty to five hundred and thirteen; at this rate they may easily out-vote us at any time.

When the two nations are become one there neither will nor can be any such thing as out-voting (says Mr. May). This kingdom is at present founded upon its seven dominions of old,

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together with those latter Unions with Wales, Chester, and Durham; yet we never heard that England went about to outvote Wales, or both of them Durham or Chester. Were they only to be tied or tacked together by some covenant, confederacy, agreement, or bargain, there might be ground for scruples, but the proposal being to bring them under one government, direction, and interest, it consequently leaves not room for such surmises.

Although perhaps one cannot in strictness insist for above forty as the representation of Scotland (says Mr. Shaw), yet for the sake of conveniency I could wish some few more were allowed, since by a scheme I have lately seen, it appears their counties and boroughs cannot very conveniently be cantoned to less than a number of between fifty and sixty.

Although equality of taxes and a proportionate representation be the rules by which those who pretend to reason upon the affair of the Union ought to steer (says Mr. Brooks), yet I doubt not but upon any treaty consideration would be had to ease and conveniency of the several counties and towns of Scotland, and, if need were, a ready condescension to somewhat more in the representation than can be admitted by the strictness of the rule, provided it may not so far exceed as to give just cause of umbrage.

Those who would cordially treat of an Union ought not to range themselves on one side or other, but be for both (says Mr. May), not on the part of England, nor upon that of Scotland as abstractedly taken, but on that of Britain, and accordingly nothing should be required nor expected by one side, but what ought to be readily granted by the other; yet if all was concluded to this point I doubt not but expedients would be found.

Since by the Union in the year 1654 the kingdom of Scotland was allowed but thirty in the House of Commons, why then do you now propose forty (says Mr. More)? especially considering they pretend not to come up to the same proportion of taxes they then did.

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By that Union they were allowed thirty to four hundred (replied Mr. May), and if 400, 30—513, $38\frac{9}{40}$; so that we have only in this, as in other things, proposed the gains to them as to the weaker side, and we have not thought fit to lessen their number in the representation, because it is hoped the fruits of a happy Union may in a few years enable them to contribute the same they then did, or possibly a greater proportion of the taxes and public burthens.

I doubt not but what relates to the number of representatives in either House of Parliament may be easily accommodated when depending on those who have a mind to it (says Mr. Sands); but let us come to the money matters, and, in the first place, have your reasons for proposing such ease to the kingdom of Scotland in the point of assessments on land.

The reason thereof is given in the body of the article relating thereunto (replied Mr. Brooks), and both the sum and time are left blank, that it may thereby appear we pretend not to state, much less to determine, this matter.

Some present ease in the matter of the assessment may perhaps be allowable, provided it be only for a time, and until they come to be in a better state (says Mr. Gage); but why may not those of Scotland be afterwards obliged to come in for more than the medium of the six northern counties of England? since I could never yet understand why we in and about London should be thus liable to contribute our full four shillings, when those in the more remote and extreme parts of this kingdom pay not two shillings, perhaps not twenty pence, in the pound.

I doubt not but upon inquiry it will be found that, suitably to their circumstances, ease ought to be given and allowances made to places more remote from the seat of government and centre of trade (replied Mr. May); and certainly the scheme of the year 1656, and the raising of the several excises in the remoter parts of this kingdom, together with the daily experience of those who have estates in the different places, do sufficiently manifest the truth of this position.

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I hope you pretend not to plead for or countenance such allowances as amount to one-half or perhaps two-thirds of the real values (replied Mr. Gage)?

That is far from being my meaning (returned Mr. May), although in the case before us possibly one-third, or were it somewhat more, might not be unreasonable; and in the mean time it ought to be remembered that the kingdom of Scotland is still more remote from the centre of government and trade than the six northern counties of England.

You speak of the four shillings in the pound on land as of a certain standing charge (said Mr. Gage), whereas I trust we are far from that hazard, the rest of the funds, with good management, being more than sufficient to defray the public expense and discharge the national debts if the present war was but once ended, which it is hoped may not be long; from whence I infer that the gentlemen of Scotland seem more afraid in this matter than there is danger of their being hurt; why do not they therefore rather propose to have what they pretend by way of ease or equivalent in customs and excises, as some more standing and certain revenues than that of the land tax.

There is no possibility of making allowances or abatements by way of customs or excise, without creating much greater loss and disorder, not only in the trade, but likewise in the public revenues, than the benefit to them (replied Mr. May); wherefore what they have by way of ease or equivalent must necessarily be either in the assessment, in ready money, or by both. Accordingly we had regard to this in the following article, whereby they are to have only 600,000*l.* as an equivalent for the present debts of England. Although this sum be considerably less than what in strictness they might otherwise pretend, as you will see by the following estimate of the revenues and debts of the two kingdoms, from whence we have drawn our positions.

Upon this, Mr. May read and delivered in the following estimates of the revenues and debts of the two nations.

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ESTIMATE of the present REVENUES of ENGLAND.

	£
By the customs	1,200,000
Excise on beer and ale	1,100,000
Salt excise	180,000
Low wines, &c.	160,000
Duty on coals	120,000
By paper and parchment	90,000
By the post office	90,000
Small branches	70,000
Malt tax	600,000
Land tax	2,000,000
	£5,610,000

An ESTIMATE of what the REVENUE of SCOTLAND may produce when upon the foot of the present Taxes of England.

	£
Customs	70,000
Excise on beer and ale	40,000
Malt and salt taxes	40,000
Crown lands	6,000
Stamped paper and other small duties	10,000
The land tax, suppose	50,000
	£216,000

An ESTIMATE of the present DEBTS of ENGLAND.

	£	s.	d.
By the annuities in the late reign	1,881,745	15	0
The annuities of this reign	5,140,189	13	11½
Banker's debt	664,263	0	0
Due to the Bank of England	1,200,000	0	0
To the new East India Company	2,000,000	0	0
Remains of the first deficiencies	618,317	15	8
By the second deficiencies likewise charged upon the funds commonly called the general mortgage	2,338,628	15	5¾
Arrears of interest upon the said debt for about 7 years, suppose	1,200,000	0	0
Debenture debt, suppose	1,000,000	0	0
On the low wine duties	722,175	0	0
On the additional subsidies	780,132	0	0

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	£	s.	d.
On the lottery fund . . .	400,000	0	0
On the coal fund	258,771	0	0
Household and other debts due from his late Majesty, suppose . . .	300,000	0	0
Debts contracted since her Majesty's accession to the crown, suppose . .	1,700,000	0	0
	£20,204,223	0	1½

Considering the debts which have been annually contracted since her Majesty's happy accession to the crown, and the present prospect of affairs, it might be supposed this may be increased to near if not quite twenty-two millions by the end of the running year; but we have only founded our propositions upon a sum of twenty-one millions.

The government debts of Scotland are inconsiderable, being, as it is said, not above 60,000*l.*, but the expense of their civil government may, after the Union, be supposed to be—

	£
To the Chancellor	2,000
Privy Seal	1,000
President of the Council	1,000
One Secretary of State	1,000
President of the Session	1,000
Justice General	800
Treasurer Deputy	600
Justice Clerk	600
Register	500
Fourteen Lords of the Session, 500*l.* each . .	7,000
Queen's Advocate	500
Queen's Solicitor	300
Two Clerks of the Council	500
	16,800
Allowance for grants, pensions, and other extraordinary expenses	13,200
In all	30,000
So that, after the expense of the particular government of Scotland shall be defrayed, there will remain of the revenue of that kingdom an overplus of about	186,000

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And 186,000*l.* the revenue of Scotland, being to 5,610,000*l.*, the revenue of England, as one is to thirty very near, by dividing twenty-one millions, the debt of England, by this number thirty, we found the equivalent to the kingdom of Scotland ought to be 700,000*l.*

But I observe you make no allowance for the expense of the military government of Scotland after the Union (says Mr. Sands).

The military expense of the government of Scotland after the Union, as taken properly, will be very little (says Mr. Grant), besides the assistance the queen will thereby have in her forces both by sea and land will much more than compensate this expense, whatever it shall be.

Are you sure your estimates of the public revenues and debts are right, and consequently your proportions well stated (says Mr. More)?

Upon which Mr. May said the customs and excises do so very much depend upon the accidents of the war, with other contingencies, and the national debts are continually so decreasing on one side and increasing on the other, as makes it impossible to form an exact state thereof; wherefore we pretend not so much to exactness in the particular articles, having therein kept up to round sums, as we do in the whole, which we have stated at somewhat more than may be supposed to arise in the time of war, yet at less than may be expected in a time of peace, and consequently presume those estimates are so near the truth as to be sufficiently capable of supporting our positions and conclusions.

Besides, at the drawing-up of this scheme it was observed that the money proposed to be raised as an equivalent for the debts of England was but upon an interest of five per cent., whereas that of the annuities here is of six and a-half per cent. per annum or upwards, the which, if nicely accounted for, might make a difference of at least 210,000*l.*

Likewise, if due allowances were made for such parts of

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the revenue of England as may be charged with grants, pensions, or otherwise anticipated, this might possibly make another difference of 30,000*l.* or 40,000*l.*; and although the revenue of Scotland, as all new duties may cost some time before it be established, yet afterwards it would be proportionably more improvable than that of England; from all which it was inferred that the equivalent for the said debts might thus amount to near if not quite a million.

But because some of the gentlemen on the part of Scotland seemed to insist upou a considerable allowance in the matter of the assessment on land, and since a much less sum may supply the public occasions of that kingdom, we stated this equivalent only at 600,000*l.*

It ought likewise to be remembered (says Mr. Grant) that, although the particular and immediate benefit thereof be designed for Scotland, yet about one moiety of this sum of 600,000*l.* is proposed to be applied to public uses, which will equally redound to the general advantage of this united island.

If the rest of your positions be not better founded than your comparison between this perpetuity of five per cent. and the annuities, I fancy they may be easily overthrown (says Mr. North), for you seem not to have considered that the one is a perpetuity, whereas the other is only for a term of ninety-eight or ninety-nine years.

Pray what difference in the purchase do you believe there is between ninety-eight years and that of a perpetuity (says Mr. Brooks)?

I have often heard there is at least five or six years' purchase difference (replied Mr. North).

There may be that and much more in the fancies of people (says Mr. Brooks), but by the rules of compound interest there is not six weeks' purchase difference between a rent-charge for ninety-eight years and that of a perpetuity at an interest of six and a-half per cent.: the very difference between quarterly

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and annual payments being capable of discharging the debt in less than two-thirds of that time.

I therefore am of opinion that at this interest of five per cent. the money will hardly come in (says Mr. More): why, therefore, did you not rather put it at six or six and a-half per cent. per annum?

Because (said Mr. Brooks) we were not only for concerting things as reasonably, but likewise for making them as easy as possible; besides, we put the interest only at five per cent. as being satisfied this fund may be so ordered and methodised as that the money may not only come in as well as if it were higher, but so as this whole debt may be discharged in about the space of forty years.

If this can be done there is certainly a great deal of ill husbandry in our present funds of annuities (says Mr. Gage); but how is it possible?

It may be effected (replied Mr. Brooks) by appropriating a sum of ready money of ten per cent., or perhaps somewhat less, of the value, for circulating those securities at an interest of four per cent. or under, and applying the remainder towards paying off the debt until it shall come to be discharged. This matter might be enlarged upon, but I shall forbear until we come upon the point of inquiry into the past and present state of the trade and public revenues of England.

In the meantime there can be no loss or hazard by this experiment (says Mr. May), since the sum to be employed for refunding the Indian and African Company, and discharging the public debts in Scotland, which are to be paid in the first place, will be but about one moiety thereof; and as the remainder cannot all be laid out and employed together, but must be the work of some years, so it will not be required all at once.

I perceive a part of this equivalent is to be employed in refunding the late losses of the Indian and African Company of Scotland (says Mr. More): I should be glad to be rightly informed in the matter of their late attempts to the West Indies, some say

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it was an ill-founded, rash, and precipitant undertaking, but others again affirm that it might not only have had success, but been of the greatest consequence, if duly supported.

The reasons for that undertaking, together with the causes of its miscarriage, and the consequences thereof (replied Mr. Jones), will more properly fall under consideration when we shall be upon thepoint of inquiry into *the consequences and tendency of the late progress of navigation and foreign trade, particularly of the new discoveries in the Indies.* (App. BBB.)

I very much like the appropriating so considerable a sum of money towards employing and relieving the people, encouraging the fisheries, manufactures, and other improvements in Scotland (says Mr. Gage), but wish at the same time we could have a proportionate sum applied to the like uses here in England.

Among other happy fruits of the Union, I doubt not but it may contribute to the introducing of such a constitution into England (returned Mr. May); but he who designs such things must think of taking step by step, and doing them by degrees.

But where should we find the money for so great a design (said Mr. Gage), especially in this time of war and difficulties?

In the same manner as this for Scotland is found (replied Mr. May), that is to say, by management and good husbandry. England is at present at the annual expense of at least a million for maintenance of their poor, yet they hardly half live; if but one moiety of this income was only settled for fifteen years, a sum of five or six millions might be raised upon this fund, the which, together with the other moiety, would with good direction be a sufficient and perpetual provision for the poor, and spring for the encouragement of trade and improvements.

But we shall have occasion to enlarge upon this subject when the reasons there are for establishing a national council of trade shall be under consideration. (App. CCC.)

How came you to propose this rent-charge of 30,000*l.* per annum to be made upon the hereditary and temporary revenue

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(said Mr. More), and not rather think of some other way which might make it more easy?

Because (replied Mr. May) the Queen's hereditary and temporary revenue of Scotland, consisting in customs, excises, crown lands, and small duties, in value about 80,000*l.* per annum, will not only be improved about one-third by the Union, but, after the completing thereof, the particular charge of the government there will not amount to much more than one-third part of the present expense.

If this be the case (says Mr. Gage) there is no doubt but you have put it upon the best and most reasonable foot, since it will be but a part of what her Majesty in her proper revenue will save by the economy of the Union; but why then did you propose this charge upon the revenue in general, and not rather upon that of Scotland in particular?

Because (replied Mr. May) we were of opinion that, for the better economy thereof, the receipts and payments of the public revenue ought as much as possible to be reduced into one current or channel; and that, though the security would be the same, yet it might be more satisfactory to those here about London who should advance their money upon this fund to find it a general charge upon the revenue, in the nature of the 3,700*l.* per week, than only upon the particular revenue of Scotland, the which, especially at first, might to them possibly seem too remote.

However it be, I see no great difficulty in fixing the manner of this thing, the matter being the same (says Mr. Grant), since there is no doubt but that after the Union the particular revenue of Scotland will be a sufficient security for this charge, as may be seen by our estimate thereof.

By this estimate (said Mr. Carr) I perceive the kingdom of Scotland will by the Union be charged with several new duties, of which I should be glad to see a state, together with the requisite observations upon what effects they may have.

In order to the better undestanding the nature and effects of

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those duties (said Mr. May), it will be first necessary to have a state of the weights and measures of the two nations.

Upon which Mr. May delivered a paper containing the state of the weights and measures of the two nations, together with that of the several duties as they now stand, which are as follow :—

The weight in Scotland, upon which not only their other weights, but likewise their liquid and dry measures, are founded, is the French troy ounce, being about one and four-fifths per cent. lighter than ours, but their pound consisting of sixteen ounces, whereas that of ours is only of twelve.*

There is no doubt but this ounce was originally the same with ours, and that it is only time and neglect hath made this difference.

The Scottish pint, upon which all their wet and dry measures are founded, ought to weigh of the running water of Leith fifty-five of those ounces, and to contain about 99 square inches. Consequently their three pints being as 297 is to 282, they are five per cent. better than our beer gallon, near 103 of such pints going to our beer barrel.

Their ordinary peck consists of 21¼ of such pints, but the peck used for oats, barley, and malt, contains near 31 of such pints; and their boll consists of four such pecks. Thus their ordinary peck is about one-fifteenth part less than our bushel, but the extraordinary about a fourth part more.

The duties upon the importations are much lower in Scotland than in England, and consequently they will be considerably raised by the Union.

In England the strong beer and ale, with the additional ninepences, is 4*s.* 9*d.*, but the small beer is but 15*d.* per barrel excise.

The standing excise of beer and ale in Scotland is, of three of their pennies, or an English farthing per pint, and consequently about 2*s.* 2*d.* our barrel, but with the additional two-pennies, which hath been sometimes imposed, would be near 3*s.* 8*d.* per barrel.

* However in the practice there is a difference, the right French troy ounce being near half per cent. better than the Scottish.

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But considering that at least two-thirds of their common beer and ale can by the rules of the excise pass only for small beer, their beer excise will not upon the whole be heavier than now it is.

During this time of war, there hath been annually imposed four shillings per quarter, or six pence per bushel, on malt here in England.

There is likewise a duty of 3*s.* 4*d.* per bushel on salt, and another by stamped paper and parchment.

The duties on marriages, births, and burials, are not to be continued after the first of August next.

Besides these, there is only a small duty on glass windows, but so inconsiderable in England, that we thought it not worth a place on our schemes, and therefore left it open towards making up such deficiencies as may be in some other estimates.

After having viewed the state of the weights and measures, together with that of the several impositions of the two nations given in by Mr. May, Mr. Shaw said, I understand that by those new and additional duties the customs or foreign excise in Scotland will, in several cases, possibly be doubled, how then will that nation be able to bear it?

Your countrymen (replied Mr. May) will herein be but obliged to pay a small part of what they directly gain by the communication of trade; besides, those duties may be made much easier by being laid more by way of excise and on the consumption, and consequently less upon the merchant and navigation, than they now are.

I take it for granted (says Mr. Carr), that in what quantities or manner soever the impositions on foreign trade shall be laid, they must still be equal in all the parts of the United Kingdom, otherwise the communication of commerce, which is so essential a part of the Union, can never subsist. But the question with me is, how those of Scotland will be able to pay the additional excise on beer and ale?

I see not that there will be any additional excise on beer and

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ale introduced into Scotland by the Union (replied Mr. May), since at least two-thirds of the malt drink of that kingdom cannot be reckoned otherwise than small beer, so that upon the whole the duty will be little if anything heavier than it now is.

By what I have observed in the practice in several parts of England (said Mr. Bruce), I am apt to think the beer excise in Scotland will after the Union be near, if not quite, as easy as now; wherefore I am not so much in doubt about that as the malt tax, which will be altogether new, and, as I apprehend it, very heavy.

Even in the malt tax, of which you seem so very apprehensive (replied Mr. Brooks), the Scottish nation will only be brought in to pay a part of their gain, since the value of the duty will be doubly compensated in the advance of the price of malt, barley, and oats by means of the communication of trade; besides, this excise upon malt is only from year to year during this time of war.

But you have not the like to say of the excise on salt (replied Mr. Bruce), the which is not only perpetual, but being 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per weigh, is at least three times the original value thereof.

Salt exported or employed in the fisheries is altogether free from this duty (returned Mr. May); besides, instead of any disadvantage, the raisers of salt in Scotland will have a great deal of benefit by the Union, since it will create a much greater consumption and demand for that commodity; and thus I doubt not but the duty on salt will be found as easy and supportable as any other.

I am glad to find the tax on births, burials, &c., will not be continued after the first day of August next (said Mr. Rose); it is enough that mankind must expect to be pestered with duties and difficulties in their passage through, but a great deal too much to find impositions upon their very coming into and going out of the world.

Since the duties on stamped paper and glass windows will be very inconsiderable in Scotland, and not very much relate to

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trade (said Mr. Shaw), I hope if we of that kingdom shall be brought in for all the rest they will at least abate us those.

The Union (replied Mr. May) is proposed to be founded upon the principles of justice and equality, and consequently cannot possibly admit of the least abatement or difference in the point of taxes or contributions; for otherwise it would not be properly an Union, but rather a contract or bargain.

After all I am not yet convinced (said Mr. Shaw) that ease or forbearance of some of the excises, particularly those on malt and salt, would be so inconsistent with the Union and communication of trade as is usually represented, since those commodities might in the mean time be prohibited from coming into England.

The least root or remainder of restraints or prohibitions (replied Mr. May) would not only be wasteful and destructive in itself, but the occasion of dangerous animosities and struggles, wherein although both would be losers, yet the weakest still the most, and therefore it is that those who will endeavour a happy Union, especially on the part of Scotland, ought to avoid the very appearances thereof.

But the jealousies of those new and additional duties will appear still the less excusable, when it shall be considered that the very advantages the particular commodities will receive in the rise of their price at home, by means of their currency abroad, will much more than compensate these impositions.

And that not only these but all the others will receive the like benefit, such as their corn, cattle, linen, cloth, or whatever else is or shall be produced by that country, as likewise the labour of their people will be raised at least twenty per cent., or one-sixth part, in a very little time, and afterwards be upon a foot of continual advance.

And thus, supposing the people of Scotland to be in number one million, and that as matters now stand their industry yields them only about five pounds per annum per head, as reckoned one with another, or five millions yearly in the whole, at this

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rate these five millions will by the Union not only be advanced to six, but put in a way of further improvement; and allowing 100,000*l.* per annum were on this foot to be paid in additional taxes, yet there would still remain a yearly sum of about 900,000*l.* towards subsisting the people more comfortably, and making provision against times of scarcity and other accidents, to which, I understand, that country is very much exposed.

I am of opinion (said Mr. Grant), that if such a sum as is now proposed for the encouragement of the trade of that kingdom had, between the years 1689 and 1695, been laid out in stores of corn for public support, that, besides other great advantages, it had been capable of saving at least 80,000 lives, which perished or were otherwise lost for want, and 400,000*l.* in money exported for bread, during their five following years of scarcity and famine. The which hath chiefly contributed towards bringing that nation so low as it now is, especially as being attended with the expenses and losses they had in their attempts to the West Indies, and followed by the bad effects of some uneasy tempers, who, instead of endeavouring to establish their country by good and wholesome provisions after that miscarriage, have made shift to restrain and prohibit away much of what little trade there still remained.

Although the impatience of my countrymen's tempers (said Mr. Hope) hath not hitherto allowed them to be very provident in public things, yet, considering the uncertainty and rigours of their seasons, where the years of plenty are almost always forerunners of those of dearth and scarcity, I wonder how they could so long avoid making national provisions of corn.

In other countries, as well as yours (said Mr. Brooks), extremities (like the years of plenty and scarcity formerly in Egypt) commonly produce one another, and as there is no doubt but all governments ought to make suitable provisions for contingencies, so those particularly whose countries are exposed to the greatest uncertainties.

But instead of the economy you seem to mean (replied Mr.

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Hope), my countrymen usually take quite another, and, as I understand it, contrary course, as may be seen by their practice: in summer 1695 they were very busy in giving rewards for having their corn carried abroad, and in a few months after as impatiently employed in buying it back again.

Possibly they may have learned this piece of management from us (said Mr. Brooks), for we, too, are inclinable to give premiums to have our corn carried away when cheap, and as eager in giving the same or greater allowances to fetch it back again when dear. If half the money which, during the last age, hath been confounded this way, had, on the contrary, been employed in national granaries, the price of grain might thereby have not only been kept upon an equal and current foot, to the great advantage of the raisers thereof, but by this time the national stock thereby increased to the value of several millions.

Do you, then, by means of this stock, intend to make a monopoly of the granaries, fisheries, and such other things (said Mr. Rose)?

We pretend not in the least to hinder any from buying or selling those or any other commodities (replied Mr. May), but, on the contrary, rather to help such as shall need assistance, our design being only, by buying, to prevent the price of grain from falling extremely low, and by selling, from rising extremely high, and still not so much with a prospect of particular advantage of the stock as to that of the public, for which it is wholly designed to be employed.

At this rate you must needs expect to be losers in whatever you deal (replied Mr. More).

You will, doubtless, find reasons to have other sentiments in this matter (returned Mr. Grant), when you shall consider that the kingdom of Scotland is, one way or other, at considerably more than one hundred thousand pounds per annum expense towards the maintenance of their poor, and that yet they hardly half live. Now, suppose this annual income were for fifteen or

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twenty years applied to the like uses with the sum now proposed for the encouragement of trade and maintenance of the poor of that nation, do not you think that with anything of a tolerable management a great deal might be thereby gained or saved?

A bad economy (said Mr. Brooks) is still better than none. Upon the drawing up of this scheme it was observed that in such case it might be hoped the poor should, during that time, be better maintained, the fisheries put in a way of raising and keeping up fifteen or twenty thousand seamen, the which would of course make room for the employment of at least times as many hands on shore. Finally, that nation thereby put in a way not only of maintaining their poor better than they now do, but likewise of increasing this stock at less than half the present waste and expense.

Upon the whole (said Mr. Hope), I am fully convinced that, without a communication of government and taxes, the Union can never be equal, and consequently not an Union, but rather an agreement or bargain, which, if ever made, one may venture to say it will not be easy, or hold long; that the increase of taxes in Scotland, when balanced with the advantages of the Union, will be very inconsiderable, and for that reason, were there no other, ought cheerfully to be acquiesced in.

After this there was silence, and Mr. Jones observing that every one seemed to acquiesce in what Mr. Hope had said, and consequently that the present conversation upon this subject was near a conclusion, said, Gentlemen, you have now the point of an Union fully before you, my advice therefore is, that we adjourn the further, or rather reconsideration thereof, for some weeks, that we may hereby have an opportunity, not only to recollect ourselves, but likewise have the thoughts of our friends.

Upon which motion, the company adjourned this point to Wednesday, the 27th February.

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WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1705.

After several letters from York and other places were read, Mr. Carr desired to know in what manner the ports of entry were proposed to be settled in Scotland.

Upon which, Mr. May said it was his opinion seven or eight ports of entry might be sufficient for that kingdom, the which ought to be such as lie most convenient for trade, and are best for collecting and securing the customs; but that this matter, with that of the different coins, weights and measures, and other such things, may be regulated after the Union shall be concluded.

The coin in Scotland (said Mr. Shaw) was altered about twenty years ago, that is to say, it was raised in its denomination or sunk in its value about a thirteenth part. I could never yet understand whether my countrymen have gained or lost by this project.

You may assure yourself (replied Mr. May) that they, as well as other states who have been drawn into this silly and destructive secret of altering their coin, are considerable losers.

But is there any way of discovering the quantities of loss and gain herein, and consequently the certainty of this position of yours (says Mr. Grant)?

This evil (replied Mr. May) is very subtle, and therefore all the particular mischiefs and disorders thereby occasioned, especially at home, cannot so easily be described, but the knowledge of the rates of exchange, together with the sums remitted or negotiated, are capable of giving great light into such of its effects as directly relate to foreign trade.

Since our last meeting upon this subject (said Mr. Rose), I have had much converse with several of my countrymen, who still affirm that an entire or incorporating Union, as they call it, will undoubtedly ruin Scotland, since it must certainly draw all the remaining people and money from thence.

Did you not tell them (says Mr. Brooks) the Union we pro-

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moted was not merely entire, incorporating, or federal, but only a plain, upright Union?

So I told them (returned Mr. Rose), yet they still insisted that if we united the parliaments it would be the same thing; that their country was already sufficiently drained by the perpetual recourse to London for places and preferments, and how much more must it be so if to this there shall be likewise added that of representatives in Parliament?

Is this all (said Mr. Sands)?

Is it not enough (replied Mr. Rose)?

Yes (said Mr. May), and a great deal to omuch, if true; but when duly examined I doubt not but this will be found so far from being capable to be made an objection on the part of Scotland, that it is the principal motive, and ought above all other things to induce the Scottish nation to desire an Union, since, were the Union complete, all the expense of those who should come to Court or Parliament would perhaps not amount to more than it now does, and that is not five per cent. or a twentieth part of what that nation would naturally gain by the Union.

I wish we could hear that made out (said Mr. Rose).

To begin then with the expense of Parliament (returned Mr. May): do you think that forty shillings per day to the Lords and Commons, one with another, during the session thereof, might not defray their necessary expense?

Doubtless it might (replied Mr. Rose).

Then (continued Mr. May) let us suppose forty shillings per day to sixty persons, viz. twenty Lords and forty Commoners, for four months, or one hundred and twenty days, to how much does that amount?

I find it 14,400*l.* per annum (replied Mr. Rose).

Then 14,400*l.* is the expense of the Parliament, the which likewise includes the greatest part of that of the court (returned Mr. May); on the other hand, you ought to consider, that, as matters now stand, the commissioner to your Parliament has

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every year 3,500*l.* allowed for his equipage, besides 55*l.* per day for at least such one hundred and twenty days, the which amounts to 10,100*l.*, and if to this you reckon the annual sums allowed to your officers of state and others as expenses for their coming up to London, that may possibly amount to near if not quite so much more; thus the very government of Scotland is now at more expense in this matter than the nation need to be at after the Union shall be complete.

It is true, were your law-suits to come up to London, at so great a distance, it might possibly be a damage to that country, one way or other, at least five times this sum; but, as it is, you may now see how easy it will be.

I have formerly had this objection, or rather scruple, under consideration (said Mr. Grant), but upon examination soon found it groundless.

I likewise (said Mr. Hope) have found sufficient reasons to be of Mr. Grant's opinion, not only from the state of the facts which Mr. May has urged, but also from other reasons, the which, as unnecessary, I forbear to mention.

After this there was silence for some time, which Mr. Jones observing, said, to the point, gentlemen,—are there any more objections?

Upon which Mr. Stone said, I have been hitherto silent, as being willing to hear what others could say to the point of this Union, and, upon the whole, I do think the objections or doubts on the part of the gentlemen of Scotland, are either ill-grounded or very frivolous, since certainly, without entering into particulars, one may easily see how greatly that nation will be advantaged by such an Union as is proposed; but I am of opinion, you have hitherto heard but one side, and that on the part of England there are insuperable difficulties against it.

When Mr. Stone had thus expressed himself, the gentlemen looked upon one another, as if in some surprise, which Mr. Jones perceiving, said, pray let us have some of your doubts, sir; you see the gentlemen are attentive.

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Here hath been a mighty stress put upon their church, their nobility, their laws, and I know not what else (continued Mr. Stone); whereas, what signifies it what church government, so we have but the Christian religion and liberty of conscience,— or what laws, or from whence they come, so they be but good,— or how many, or what sort of nobility, so we can prevail with them to do but little hurt? but it is the trade of England which must maintain and support the churchmen, the nobility, the lawyers, and everything else, yet it is this trade which now runs the risk of being distracted and ruined by your Union.

As the case already stands, a man cannot get above ten or fifteen per cent. per annum by his money in trade, whereas I have known the time when twenty or twenty-five per cent. per annum was to be got; thus trade is already half ruined, and what confounds it, but only too many traders? had we but half the traders, we should be in a better condition. But how, then, must it be when we admit the Scotch among us? certainly one man will not be able to live by another. For my part, I have followed trade above these forty years, and never knew so bad times as now, insomuch, that I have already some thoughts of leaving it off, but, should this Union be concluded, it will certainly determine me; I shall retire and live upon what I have. A man had better take six, seven, or perhaps eight per cent. of the Government for his money, wherein there is no risk or trouble, than, besides his labour and pains, to run the hazard of his estate in trade for double this prospect.

I presume (said Mr. Sands) Mr. Stone may venture to leave off trade, as having not only been many years a dealer, but, as I am informed, got pretty well by it; at which I do not wonder, since, by what he says, his heart appears to have been so very much in it, as to leave him little room or inclinations for anything else.

What should I mind but my trade and family (returned Mr. Stone)? I think that is taking care of the public, or at least of my part of it. My business has always been to take advantages

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where they could be had, and to make the best of things as I found them, without troubling myself about or pretending to mend the world, as not a few idle people are apt to do. I observe few of these fellows ever get anything, but rather spend what they have; some, indeed, there are who have got considerable estates by those sort of things, but those have only been such who, although they made the public business their pretence, yet were so wise as to make it subservient to their interest.

Since Mr. Stone (said Mr. May) seems so unwilling to be questioned for following his proper business, or taking care of his family, it is strange he should not at the same time have leisure to think that churchmen, nobility, lawyers, and those of other professions, may possibly apprehend themselves as much concerned to support their stations and ways of living as merchants or other sort of traders do that of theirs; likewise, that those who are paid and employed by the public, ought to take the same care thereof as private men of their families; and that the ill-success of those who have public spirit, is an evil which ought to be rectified in all governments, particularly in ours, as I doubt not but this society will sufficiently find, when they come to inquire into those matters.

Those who have the charge of governments (said Mr. Brooks), are commonly better paid, and have more advantageous returns, than heads or masters of families usually find, and there is no doubt but the people in their charge should be as carefully and tenderly looked after. Particularly it ought to be their business not only to protect, but as much as possible to assist every honest industrious man in his way, yet so as not to give to any one, or number of them, such advantages as may be detrimental to the community, for which they are equally concerned.

I must confess (says Mr. Sands), that, in the disorders of a state, especially when risen to a considerable height, it is very discouraging to find not a few of the fault-finders rather qualified for marring than for mending them, as having every whit

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as much ignorance, and many more conceits and prepossessions, than those who, in a selfish way or humour, are against all alterations.

Although (said Mr. Brooks) the ignorance and emptiness of not a few of those who pretend to reformations may be stumbling blocks to the blind, or to such who look only to appearances, yet, since we do and posterity must owe all their excellent things to some or other, who have or shall first introduce them,—men of an extensive and superior genius ought not to be the less, but rather the more, prized and valued by those who would be reckoned the most valuable part of mankind.

To come to the point (said Mr. May), I think the objections, or rather doubts, which Mr. Stone has raised may more properly be used as reasons for than against the Union, since even his own conduct, as well as other parts of our experience, sufficiently convinces us that it is in the numbers, good disposal, and employment of their people, that the wealth, power, and happiness of governments or nations doth consist.

It is true when, as in our present case, a considerable part of the people either are not employed at all, or at least not half so profitably as they might, thus, instead of doing good, they serve only to be a dead weight upon the others, for mankind must consume, whether they work or not.

But where will you find work for them (says Mr. Stone)? in some heat.

I doubt not (replied Mr. May) but the employments now on foot, if well looked after, would be found capable of great improvements; but, without entering into the detail of them, I shall only instance the fisheries and granaries, already mentioned, the which are in a manner new, and, with their necessary dependencies only, might be made more than sufficient to employ and subsist all the idle people of the three kingdoms.

But will not the Hollanders be against you (objected Mr. Stone)? I have heard much talk of these fisheries, but they always say it will ruin the Dutch.

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If those are the sentiments of any (returned Mr. May), it must be only of such whose education hath been so much in the negative part of trade as to disable them from coming up to the affirmative,—who consider trade only as a little monopoly or intrigue, and not as the general scope of the industry of the world, and that consequently trade is still capable of being increased, as people shall be multiplied and employed, upon whose numbers and labours it wholly depends.

And upon this foundation it is, and from those motives, I profess myself to be one of those who believe, that, though the proper fisheries of these British Islands might greatly help us, yet it would not, at least need not, hinder the Dutch. For instance, suppose there are two millions of people in the three kingdoms who do not half live, and that the other half of their maintenance was made out upon fish,—by having stores thereof in all the considerable places, in order to their being distributed as occasion should require, this might be capable of consuming at least two thousand last per week more than there now is, which at but 10*l.* per last would be upwards of the yearly value of a million.

Instances might likewise be given of the granaries, and other things, but, as not being directly to our point, I shall refer them to a more convenient opportunity.

Provided they bring meat in their mouths (said Mr. Stone), that is to say, new employments, and ways to subsist along with them, unite them with all my heart; otherwise, as I told you, I am sure it will not do. After Mr. Stone had expressed himself to this purpose he took his leave of the company.

Upon which Mr. May said, I have often heard the Hollanders clamoured against for their economy and industry, the things in the world for which they deserve the greatest commendation; but this hath always been either from ignorant or envious people, such lovers of themselves as hate all others, and therefore deserve no credit with the human race. For my part I believe not that we, or any other nation, would have more, but rather

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the less, trade were there no such people as the Dutch. It is plain trade in those parts of the world has greatly increased during the last century, wherein the Netherlanders have had their rise. And, notwithstanding the advantages some few might make of the present Dutch markets, until by their laziness and presumptions they had ruined them, or diverted trade another way, yet I am of opinion the fall of the Dutch would bring the commerce of the world, as extensively taken, upon the decline.

All trading nations have found in their turns, that mere buyers and sellers, negociators, or money getters, are not only the worst judges but the most prejudiced against all the most generous and extensive parts of trade, and, to pass by many other instances that might be given, it was by the fatal advice and conduct of their purblind and selfish negociators, that the Hans Towns first restrained and prohibited away almost all the trade of this side of the world, which they had possessed for some ages, and with a little more industry, but less presumption, might in all probability have preserved to this day. After them the Spaniards and Portuguese have hedged out the vast advantages they might otherwise have had by the Indies, and that which humanly speaking might otherwise have raised them to be the greatest people ever was, has been thus the principal means of bringing them so low as we now find they are.

We need not go so far as the Hans Towns, or to Spain or Portugal (said Mr. Grant), to find the fatal effects of such narrow, selfish, and contracted views, since we have enough of them at home. Among which the ruin of the fishery in Scotland, which hath by much the greatest conveniences for it of any other country in Christendom, is, in my opinion, one of the most eminent and surprising instances.

I have often heard (said Mr. Gage) that there are great conveniences for the fisheries in Scotland, but never that they made any considerable use of them.

By the accounts of those times (returned Mr. Grant), I find that nation had a great interest, and made considerable pro-

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gress in the fishing, for near an age together, viz. from the year 1470 until about the time of the Reformation.

How did they make shift (said Mr. Gage) to chase away the fisheries, since we hear the fishes are there still?

Only by this witchcraft and enchantment of restraints and prohibitions (replied Mr. Grant).

But was this done by the government (said Mr. Shaw)?

Yea, by the government of Scotland (replied Mr. Grant).

That is somewhat too severe upon our country (said Mr. Shaw). Do you think ever the government of Scotland could be capable of discouraging their fishing, which they could not but be sensible was the most considerable thing that either did, or possibly could, belong to their country?

I do not say they intended it (said Mr. Grant), people are sometimes apt to do the greatest hurt when they do not intend it, or perhaps intend any thing at all.

It may be so (replied Mr. Shaw), but I shall never believe the government of Scotland prejudiced their fishing, unless you can show it me upon record.

Then, to come to matters of record (returned Mr. Grant); in the fifteenth century, the Parliament of Scotland, by several of their Acts, gave great encouragement to their fisheries, which were then in a flourishing condition, particularly by the forty-ninth Act of the fourth Parliament of King James the Fourth,* which mentions "the great and innumerable riches (as it is there expressed) which were lost to that kingdom, for want of convenient ships and busses, to be employed in fishing, wherefore for the great advantage that might thereby be had, and to cause idle men and vagabonds to labour for their livings, and for eschewing of vice and idleness, and the common profit and universal welfare of the realm, his Majesty and Estates of Parliament appoint, that fishing ships and busses, of twenty tons burthen or upwards, be made in all boroughs and towns of the realm, in proportion to the ability and substance of each town."

* Anno 1493.

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This, with several Acts and encouragements given before and about that time, brought the fishing of Scotland, and consequently the naval forces and other improvements of that kingdom, to a considerable height, but, to my countrymen's great misfortune, their conceits and presumptions were increased at least in proportion, as you may see by another Act of their Parliament, passed within less than half an age after this good disposition,* whereby, among other things, it is enacted, That no man, merchant or others, should send any white fish out of the realm, but permits strangers to come and buy them of merchants or freemen of boroughs with ready gold or silver, or bartering of sufficient merchandise.

To pass over several other Acts of less moment, as they stand in the statute-book, I shall come to the sixtieth of the fourth Parliament of King James the Sixth, by which they at once totally ruined and confounded the fishing, and whereby it is declared, "That forasmuch as it was heavily complained, how that the whole slayers of all kind of fishes within the realm, not regarding the Acts made by our Sovereign Lord's dearest predecessors, which are, that, when herring and white fish are slain, they ought to be brought to the next adjacent borough or towns, where the slayers thereof do dwell, to the effect that the lieges may be first served. And that if abundance hath occurred, they may be salted, and transported by free burgesses.

"By the neglect whereof our Sovereign Lord is greatly defrauded of his customs, and the good subjects of this kingdom want the fruits of the sea, appointed by God for their nourishment; and the burgesses and freemen of boroughs disappointed of their traffic and commodity.

"Therefore our Sovereign Lord, with advice and consent of his Regent's Grace and the Estates of Parliament, ordains, that all fishers, and others whatsoever, who shall happen to slay any herring, or white fish, do bring the same to free ports, there to be sold, first commonly to all the subjects, and afterwards the re-

* 98th Act 7 Parliament, James V. 1540.

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mainder to freemen, under pain of forfeiture of the ships, and of all the moveables of the offenders."

How was it possible (said Mr. More) for any Parliament, or indeed any number of men, to be drawn into the secret of such sorts of Acts as these; certainly, had the greatest enemies of that country been its councillors, they could hardly have devised so destructive a monopoly, or, if they had, surely they would have been more generous and humane than to have imposed it.

This matter being over (said Mr. May) the effects thereof are more easily seen, but I wish we in this nation had not some restraints and prohibitions now on foot every whit as unaccountable as this monopoly was. We may be sure those of Scotland were then as full of, and as presumptuously conceited of, their fisheries, as we now are of our wool, woollen manufactures, and some other things; and accordingly the advisers thereof insinuated to their prince and Parliament that no other nation had such quantities of fish, conveniences for fishing, nor so many well-experienced fishers; that there was no doubt but strangers would not only run the risk of the sea, in those times reckoned much more terrible than now, to fetch the fish from Scotland, but, if need were, buy them at any rate; and that as matters stood, the silly, ignorant fishermen sold their fish for half nothing, and this too to strangers, by which means the natives not only paid dearer for their fish, but the king lost his customs and the nation vast advantages.

Behold (said Mr. Sands) just such another heap of clamorous prejudices and inconsistencies as we have from Mr. Stone. This confirms me in my former sentiments, that merchants are the worst and most dangerous advisers in matters of trade.

This may possibly be said of merchants in a limited sense (said Mr. May), that is to say, of mere buyers and sellers, whose business and prejudices allow them not means nor time to enter into consequences, who, to get one or perhaps but half per cent. more for a commodity, care not who loses or what others may suffer, and who for this reason are not only for limiting trade

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to their own countries, but to their own towns, or even to their own houses, if they could tell how.

But merchants in an extended sense are quite another sort of men; their education, genius, general scope of knowledge of the laws, governments, polity, and managements of the several countries of the world allowing them sufficient room and opportunity not only to understand trade as abstractedly taken, but in its greatest extent, and who accordingly are zealous promoters of free and open trade, and consequently of liberty of conscience, general naturalisations, unions, and annexions.

If unions be so good things (said Mr. Gage), especially in relation to trade, why do not you likewise propose the uniting with Ireland?

Let us first see how this with Scotland shall prove (replied Mr. May), and afterwards we may have a fitter occasion to consider of Ireland.

Hold (said Mr. Gage); although I am for uniting Scotland, because only another part or piece of this island, yet I know not what to say in the case of Ireland and other remote places. Possibly by the aid of the sea, the opportunities of dark nights, or dark times at least, those fellows may be tempted to run away with our trade; indeed, were there a bridge between us and Ireland, I should be for an union likewise with that nation; but, since there is nothing of this, not a word of an union with Ireland, I beseech you.

Although we have not a stone bridge as at Berwick (returned Mr. May), yet we have a better: I mean our wooden bridge, or shipping, and am of opinion that the uniting of Ireland, as LIKEWISE WHAT OTHER DOMINIONS THE QUEEN EITHER HATH OR SHALL HAVE, would be the most effectual way not only of improving those places but for strengthening and preserving this noble and valuable bridge between us; and, if the present union before us goes forward, I trust it shall produce other unions and good things.

After all (said Mr. Rose) I see nothing in all these noisy

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objections, or rather clamours, whether from one side or the other, against the union; they appear to me rather to be the effects of ignorance, ill nature, bad intentions, or all of them, than anything else. Yet, in order to the humouring some people, what if we should propose this union only for a space of years, and thus they may have an opportunity to try how it will do? methinks this for ever is so long a time.

You are mistaken, Mr. Rose. It is no time at all (said Mr. May, smiling); but, however, if you will, we shall propose it as one of the conditions that after ten, fifteen, twenty, or such like number of years, upon two or three years' notice and your countrymen's refunding what they have during that time gained by the Union, you may be at liberty to set up again for yourselves.

Do you think (said Mr. Sands) that Ireland would desire this condition if an union with them was proposed, or that Wales or Berwick would make use of this liberty if they had it?

I believe not (said Mr. Grant), and dare even venture my countrymen upon this point.

I suppose (said Mr. Jones) the gentlemen have done with the business since they are so very merry; if so, pray let us adjourn the summing-up of this matter to some convenient time; meanwhile we shall see what other objections may be brought against the Union.

Accordingly the company adjourned till Wednesday, the third of April next.

Wednesday, April 3, 1706.

Mr. Jones said, that, since our last meeting, her Majesty had been graciously pleased to nominate commissioners for both kingdoms, to treat of an Union, and, since every thing seemed to concur in promising a happy issue to this treaty, it was therefore requisite we should conclude our present proceedings

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on this subject, in order to the transmitting them to our friends in the country.

Mr. May said, he readily concurred with this motion, but first desired to know if there were any other objection, or material difficulties, to be offered against the Union.

After silence for some time, Mr. Sands said, he was not only fully convinced of the great benefits and advantages of the Union, but that there neither was, or possibly could be, any reasonable objection against it.

Mr. Brooks said, he had never yet heard any thing said or objected against the Union but what, when duly weighed and examined, was really found an argument for it.

Mr. Grant said, that by all his inquiries he never yet found any true reason, or real objection, against the Union, but that the doubts, difficulties, or clamours on all sides, have either proceeded from ignorance, humour, secret motives, or from all of them; that the thing was easy, if people have a mind to it, which, after so many mischiefs and misfortunes befallen this island for want thereof, he hoped they now had.

And, there being again silence for some space, at last Mr Jones said,

Gentlemen,—after having had the affair of the Union directly before you for several months, wherein after a full view of what hath been done or intended therein, as likewise of the state of the two nations, you have found reason to be of opinion that not any sort of league, confederacy, limitation, agreement, or bargain, or indeed any thing less or below a complete Union, can introduce the good which may be justly expected therefrom, or effectually deliver these nations from the mischiefs and inconveniences they labour under, and are exposed unto for want thereof;—

That nothing less than a complete Union can effectually secure the religion, laws, liberties, trade, and in a word the peace and happiness of this island;—

You have observed, that the reduction of Scotland in the

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late intestine war not only produced a Union of course, but, considering the then circumstances, upon so reasonable and equal terms;—That had something like this Union been suited unto, and continued after the Restoration, besides the many mischiefs thereby prevented, that kingdom might now be in a condition to furnish a much larger quota to the public support.

And you therefrom naturally inferred, that since a civil war can never have a happy or effectual end but in an Union, it must certainly be better to make it by treaty than to stay until it comes the other way.

From these views you have proceeded to draw a scheme of an Union, whereby no hardship is proposed to be put upon parties, persons, or circumstances, nor so much as one negative upon the religion, laws, or constitutions of either nation.

And since, by the blessing of God, a happy occasion now offers for completing this great and good work, not in humour or in rage, but in cool blood, with reason and understanding, it is hoped, that after all the troubles, hazards, and distresses of these nations for want thereof, an Union shall in this temper and disposition be concluded, to the glory and renown of our excellent Queen, common benefit and general satisfaction of all her subjects, who, as having but one interest and inclination, may for ever after be of one heart and one affection.

But since the sense of my weakness gives me sufficiently to understand, that by enlarging I cannot possibly add to the just idea you already have of this necessary preliminary to all the great and good things we of these nations can reasonably hope for, I beg leave to conclude with the following inimitable expressions of our glorious Queen:*

"My Lords,—I am so fully persuaded that the Union of my two kingdoms will prove the happiness of both, and render this island more formidable than it hath been in ages past, that I

* To the commissioners of both kingdoms at the last Treaty of Union, Dec. 14, 1702.

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wish this treaty may be brought to a good and speedy conclusion.

" I am come to know what progress you have made in it, and do assure you that nothing shall be wanting on my part to bring it to perfection."

After the Society had expressed their general satisfaction with those proceedings, and desired Mr. Jones to review them, they ordered copies to be allowed the friends in town, as likewise to be transmitted to our correspondents at York.

Adjourned.

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ENGLAND'S GREAT CONCERN.

London, 4to. 1702.

(Conjectured to have been written by William Paterson.)

It is well known that throughout King William III.'s reign the most earnest attention was given to financial inquiries in and out of Parliament. The stopping of the Exchequer by Charles II. had ruined thousands of families, and there had grown up corruptions such as Andrew Marvel's Spartan integrity did not compensate, and such as were hardly to be checked by signal acts of vengeance, like the expulsion of Trevor from the Speakership of the House of Commons for receiving a bribe of 1,000 guineas to promote the passing of a City Bill. The Lord Treasurer's post was the most laborious of all the departments of the State in England, and as much ingenuity was called for to devise remedies for evils that beset the expenditure of public money, as to find facilities for its collection. The founder of the Bank of England was equally skilful in both respects; and *a perpetual Commission for checking the Public Accounts* was propósed in 1702 in the following tract, which is here offered as probably a work of Paterson's. It is written entirely in his spirit and style; and in the letter to Lord Godolphin, of 1709, he states that he communicated with King William on the subject, and that in 1702 he laid such papers before his Lordship (above, p. xcix.):—

"England's Great Concern. In the perpetual Settlement of a Commission of Accounts: with Clauses and Powers fixing National Benefit thereby in the several Branches following; viz.

"The exact Quota of the Sums to be raised for Public Service, and the faithful Collecting and Disposing thereof.

"The Securing to all Persons in the Army and Navy their full Pay at fixed Times.

"The Providing for those that are Maimed, and for the indigent Widows and Orphans of those that die in the Nation's Service.

"The due Payment of all Soldiers and Seamen's Debts to their Creditors, without Suit or Charge at Law.

"The making good the Deficient Funds, Clearing the Nation's Debts, and raising the Public Credit.

"And the ordering of Taxes so as may be most favourable to the Value of Land and Advancement of Trade.

"With A Discovery of some notable Frauds committed in collecting the Supplies."

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"Some CONSIDERATIONS upon the GREAT CONCERN of ENGLAND: in the Establishment of a COMMISSION for Taking, Examining, and Stating the Public Accounts, &c.

"The vast sums raised for support of the late war, the unaccountable deficiency of the funds ordered in Parliament for that end, the great public debts remaining upon the nation, notwithstanding the additional supplies granted from year to year for making good the said deficiencies, and the great expense the kingdom is like to be put to by the ensuing war, make it obvious how much it is the conjunct interest of the Government and people, that a strict inquiry be made into the disposal of the supplies given and to be given, and into the faithful application of them to all the ends and uses for which they were, are, and are to be, designed for public service.

"Especially considering that no less did and does depend thereon, in the way of rational human reckoning, than the security or ruin of our religion, government, lives, honour, liberty, and property on the one hand; and the encouraging or discouraging, resisting or assisting, the implacable enemies of all these our chief interests on the other.

"A fraud in any matter of private trust is a thing hateful in the eyes of all good men, which not only justice before God, but the common concern of all persons and societies in the success of their private affairs, doth require that it be prosecuted and punished with the utmost strictness and severity of the law.

"But a fraud in public trust, whereby the party trusted, not being satisfied with the reasonable sufficiency, or perhaps large recompense allowed him for his time, pains, and the reputation due to his post, doth so abandon the fear of God, and give himself up to the insinuations of Satan, as to prefer his base covetousness, luxury, or ambition, to the safety, welfare, and public good of a whole nation, and to the security of religion, the glory of God, and the common interest of all con-

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cerned in it, is a crime of so deep a dye, so foul a nature, and such dangerous consequence, as deserves to be guarded against with all imaginable care and circumspection, and when found out to be chastised with exemplary punishment.

"But seeing the depravity of human nature is such, that we may find it sufficiently proved by a multitude of satisfying instances at every sessions of the Old Bailey, that no fear of punishment can make a knave an honest man, or deter him from the worst of crimes, while he can flatter himself with any probable hopes of escaping discovery; it ought to be looked upon as a chief concern of every well-established Government, that all due precaution be used in the ordering of public trust, in all its branches, after such a manner as that no person employed therein can do an ill thing, with any reasonable hope of finding a lurking-place to keep him free from challenge or just censure.

"The nation, therefore, must be accounted debtors to those who were the first authors of so reasonable a motion as an Office of Accounts, and to all who have faithfully laboured therein; it being such a necessary check upon the due management of what they bestow for public service, that not only it ought never to have been wanting, but as makes it a thing unsuitable to its nature and usefulness to be limited to any time, that is, of less extent than while England hath a public revenue to be accounted for.

"And amongst the many other proofs of his Majesty's care of the welfare of his people, and of his royal intention to protect none who shall be found guilty of any crime inconsistent therewith, it is none of the least, that in his gracious speech at the opening of the Parliament he hath so earnestly recommended the establishing of an Office of Accounts; declaring himself for any farther way of examination, whereby it may appear whether there were any misapplications and mismanagements, or whether the debt that remains upon us has really arisen from the shortness of the supplies, or the deficiency of the funds.

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"And it seems agreeable to a dutiful return that such an office be ordered, as may not only secure the people from frauds in the management of the supplies, but the King also from being imposed upon by any whom he entrusts with a matter of so great concern to the honour, dignity, safety, and security of his government and person; which makes the obligation of its continuance perpetual.

"For seeing it is obvious to every attentive observer, that abundance of men getting once into public trust, do in a short time so overgrow in riches all that their known profits or frugal management can reasonably account for, as makes it a mystery to think by what ways and means so great and sudden changes of their former condition have been attained to; it appears to be consonant to justice and reason that an inquiry be made, whether this may not be a mystery of iniquity? And, if it is, whether the king, or people, or both are injured? And if neither, then the suspected person hath the benefit of a cleared reputation.

"And such an inquiry appears to be so much the more reasonable and necessary, that some outward motions do so plainly discover hidden springs and engines to be set on work for defeating the design, by loading it with contempt and reproaches.

"Amongst other methods of this nature, there is a late author, that perhaps may hereafter be spoke with on the subject, who in his remarks on the Bill for stating the public accounts, that was dropped in the House of Lords the last session, is at a great deal of pains to put all persons out of humour with an Office of Accounts; finding many faults, and proving them by matters of fact, as he calls, neither the one nor the other whereof ever had being.

"All I shall say at present is, that the book is a good book if it be rightly understood. For though its whole bulk, in all material points, is swelled up, ten parts to one, with lies and calumnies, yet they all agree and terminate in a most convincing proof of the certain truths following.

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"That there are some who are dreadfully afraid of an Office of Accounts:

"That there are others, who, knowing of the matter, are employed to say all they can against it, without regard to truth or falsehood:

"And that it is a particular instruction in their trust, that they take care to spare no reproaches they are capable to invent, against such whose service and skill in the affairs of the office they have greatest reason to fear.

"For this cause it is that all the teeth of the book are chiefly employed in tearing the reputation of an honourable person, who is now at the helm of our public affairs, and formerly was for several years a commissioner in the Office of Accounts.

"Upon the whole, we may conclude, that innocence can never find cause to fear the standing of a fair trial; that where such fear betrays itself there is good case to suppose guilt is at the bottom; and that such ground to suppose guilt pleads the necessity of an Office of Accounts so qualified as may fit and enable it for search and discovery.

"To proceed therefore to the consideration of the best means for establishing it so as may make it most effectual for this and other national services: The first step, and that which is of the highest concern to the prosperous success of all the rest is,

"That, laying aside all regard of private interest and influence, persons be pitched on for commissioners of known parts, integrity, and affection to the present government.

"To which a caveat is necessary to be added against such as are known to be in the interest of those concerned in the disposal of the public moneys, or are recommended by them, unless of purpose to render them suspected.

"For the greater distance is observed in choosing persons farthest from any concern in those whose fidelity must be inquired into, the surer foundation must be laid for a faithful inquiry and public benefit.

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" Seeing also it is manifest, that new commissioners are like to want greatly the help and counsel of some one or other who is acquainted with the affairs of the office, and hath formerly been in the same trust, without which it is reasonably to be supposed that their proceedings must be very much incumbered and retarded; and if the fittest person for this assistance is to be thought upon, it were much to be desired that the honourable Speaker could be prevailed upon to return into that charge, wherein he is so capable to do eminent service for the interest of his country. For which the unreasonable pains of the mentioned author to prevent it, for the good of his party, makes a strong argument that it be done for the good of the nation.

" And this I plead so much the rather that the present constitution may be so ordered, according to the following proposal relating to assistants, as shall make it no ways so inconvenient for a Speaker to be concerned in it, as it was when the honourable Paul Foley was Speaker and Commissioner of the Office of Accounts together for a long time.

Another consideration which I humbly offer is, that, seeing the Office of Accounts is an office of the highest power, greatest trust, and chief dignity of all others that are or ever were in the nation, all the offices concerned in the public money being accountable to it, and it to none but the Parliament, it appears to be altogether reasonable, just, and suitable to the nature of the constitution,

" That the commissioners be endowed with honourable salaries in so great a trust, for supporting the eminent dignity thereof; such as may be reasonably looked upon to be a sufficient allowance for commanding their time, concern, care, and pains in that great national service; such as may conciliate from all persons the respect due to their post, and such as may prevent any farther remarks like that of the mentioned author, that few have pretended to zeal of serving the nation

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in the Office of Accounts but in prospect of being taken off to employments of greater profit.

"The next consideration which I am to offer relates to the duration of the commission; concerning which I have already given some reasons why it ought to be fixed without limitation of time, because the occasions of its usefulness, and hazard of national loss by want of it, are perpetual.

"And it seems highly reasonable that, for effecting the end designed by it, the commissioners have such time allowed them as may encourage and give opportunity for deliberate proceedings and inquiries, rather than such as may seem to urge them to make haste, by which all inquiries become liable to oversight.

"Beside that anything like the former yearly commissions must always make way for preparing and pushing interests, either to shake off the commission altogether, if those concerned in the public moneys are warmly alarmed or greatly suspicious of discoveries, or to get such changed as they think they have most reason to be afraid of, if frequent opportunities for altering are allowed, as past experience doth verify.

"And, seeing the longer they continue they must be the more expert in discovering, checking, and preventing frauds, and in serving the nation's interest thereby, and by their well-digested observations relating to the public revenue, it seems not to be consistent with the common interest of the Government and people that any should be changed, except for misdemeanour, neglect, or sensible unfitness, who are able and willing to continue their service in such a trust.

"As to the powers and helps wherewith the commissioners are to be entrusted and assisted for making effectual the usefulness of this great office for the public good, they are to be so considered as meriting the same extent in which we can suppose frauds may be committed or advantages procured in the various ways of raising, collecting, and distributing the

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public revenue, of which, in all its branches and all its concerns those commissioners are the only proper and chief guardians next under the Parliament.

"And here it is to be marked that there are three principal ways whereby frauds may be acted respecting the public supplies.

"One is by making higher demands upon the Parliament than are really necessary for the year's service.

"Another is by unfaithful levying the supplies imposed, consisting in false duplicates, false returns of money into the Exchequer, and false collecting.

"And the third may be in the disposal of what is brought in, by false distribution, and fraudulent misapplications thereof, otherwise than as designed and ordered in Parliament.

"It is manifest, therefore, that, with respect to all those possible subjects of fraud, the commissioners of accounts are to be entrusted with such suitable powers as may be reasonably supposed needful to check, find out, and prevent the frauds, and to recover the damages that have been, are, or may be sustained thereby.

"With respect to which, the commissioners are to be empowered and ordered to take and prepare every year an exact account of the whole establishment of the forces for that year, of all alterations made therein, of all things requisite for the service of the army and navy, as ammunition, ordnance, victualling, &c. and of the sums necessary for supporting the whole charge, that when demands of supplies are made the House, by having recourse to the accounts of the office, may be certified at one view concerning the reasonableness or unreasonableness thereof.

"They are likewise to be empowered and ordered to take such care, and to use such methods in inspecting, examining, and securing the fidelity of collecting the public revenue in all its several branches, and of the duplicates, receipts, and returns of the moneys thereof, as they shall judge proper for

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discovering all the frauds and opportunities for them which that part of the public trust may be liable to.

"It hath certainly been a great defect in all the former commissions that not only no assistance was asked or expected therefrom for adjusting the supplies exactly to the occasions requiring them, and for which they were granted, whereby it can be cleared that several mistakes and oversights have happened, but that they were also chiefly intended for looking back, and were not charged with a trust of overseeing the present collections, for preventing those frauds which, perhaps, the after discovery might be incapable to repair.

"And if some accounts I have heard are true, it may be made appear that the nation hath suffered considerably by this omission.

"It seems therefore most reasonable and necessary that these two powers and trusts be added to the charge of the commissioners; seeing without them great damages may be sustained, and several national advantages lost, which by them may be avoided or gained.

"As to the third great concern of the nation in the public moneys, which relates to the faithful distribution thereof, it is humbly proposed,

"That the commissioners be empowered not only to call for, examine, and state all manner of accounts referring thereto; but to stop all fraudulent misapplications of public money, which they are informed are to be made; and to recall all such misapplications already made contrary to the orders of Parliament.

"Seeing without this power immediately practicable on all occasions, misapplications may be so ordered as to become afterward irrecoverable, although they are found out,

"That they be empowered to inquire into, consider, and rectify all abuses in paying the officers, soldiers, and seamen, in the army and navy.

"To examine and rectify all abuses in victualling the fleet.

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" To consider the best methods for bringing the full pay of every officer, soldier, and seaman, at certain fixed times, such as they may securely depend upon, into the hands or for the use of those to whom it is due, without fraud or diminution; and to order accordingly.

" To consider all such other means as may most effectually encourage the zealous service of the government by sea and land, and to report to the House.

" And particularly to consider how a fund may be settled for the benefit of maimed officers and soldiers, and of such their widows and orphans as are rendered destitute of the means of subsistence by their death in the service of the nation.

" Which last I mention not only as a just debt, which in reason, conscience, and consideration of public interest, ought to be charged in the general account of the nation's debts, and consequently doth belong to the nature of the Office of Accounts to see how the same is duly discharged. But, because this trust being committed to the commissioners, I hope to propose a way how so laudable a design may be accomplished, to the great satisfaction of the army and all concerned, without putting the nation to any charge thereby.

" And whereas many creditors of officers and soldiers have in prospect of their growing arrears of pay furnished them with money or necessaries, and often on such occasions that they could not have subsisted in his Majesty's service without those helps, and who being tradespeople, or others whose sums will not bear the charge of a plea at law, or who cannot spare time or money for that end, have had but too just cause to raise complaints against the late method of paying the army arrears after such a manner as enables the debtors to defraud whom they will, unless pursued at law, which often also becomes impracticable through the uncertainty of their abode; whereby many poor people are ruined, and others suffer greatly, who formerly had access to have any arrears stopped for the payment of the debts due to them at a small charge in

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the Pay Office, upon production of a just claim; for remedy whereof it is humbly proposed,

"That the said commissioners be empowered to take cognizance of and determine all such debts due by any employed in his Majesty's service, in the fleet, army, guards, or garrisons, and to grant such certificates thereupon as may be obligatory on the pay offices, both of army and navy, to stop the arrears or pay not affecting the subsistence of the debtors, until the said just debts are cleared, and that this be done gratis and without any expense to either party, debtor or creditor.

"And, seeing the nature of the trust committed to this office is such as seems to reach all the concerns of public money, by which either loss may be saved to the nation, or benefit gained relating thereto, and that it is reasonable to suppose that preparatory considerations and schemes by those fit to digest them about matters so intricate, as many of those are which concern public money, might give great light and prevent many difficulties in the resolutions of the honourable House about ordering them so as is most for national benefit; therefore it is humbly proposed,

"That the commissioners be entrusted and ordered to consider the best methods for preventing deficiency of parliamentary funds, making good the government's credit, clearing the public debts, and raising supplies by such ways and means as may prove most effectual for the service of the government and interest of the nation, especially as relating to the value of land and advancement of trade, which are the two fountains of all supplies and national power respecting defence, security, and balance of empire; and therefore do merit a watchful regard how they are affected by the manner of charging them with public impositions.

"And that they be empowered to receive and examine proposals offered relating to any of the mentioned heads, and that they report their own opinions with what they think may

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merit consideration in any such proposals to the honourable House.

"But having thus carved out so much work and weight of business for the office, with all due submission to the wisdom of Parliament, it appears necessary that in the next place it be considered what number of commissioners may be in reason supposed needful for so ample a charge, and if assistance is necessary, and of what kind, for the discharge thereof.

"It must certainly be acknowledged to be a necessary consequence, depending on the infallible rule of proportion, that however many commissioners are employed in any other office within the kingdom, if there is no evident reason to conclude them more than are really needful for the business thereof, it must follow that more be supposed needful for the office of accounts, seeing the business thereof doth so far exceed all that can be pretended in any other office, if the powers absolutely necessary to its establishment are allowed, from which the nation may have reason to expect effectual service and benefit.

"If a due notion is admitted of the great trust and of the numerous weighty affairs of the Office of Accounts, being the largest in extent and influence, chief in power, and the overaweing head over all others within the kingdom; there may, I suppose, better reasons be given why the number of its commissioners should rather have been raised from nine to thirteen, than reduced first to seven and afterwards to five, as formerly was done.

"But it must be acknowledged that the former commissions and commissioners were subjected to many inconveniences, and liable to great difficulties, both by the want of several powers and circumstances in their constitution necessary for making their service more effectual for public good, and also by a heavy overbalancing restraint lying upon them, by which they were in prudence obliged rather to conceal the discoveries they had made than to lay them open at a time when a prevailing

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party in the interest of those concerned might have occasion to stifle them.

"And thence it happened that, being deprived of a fit opportunity to make the nation sensible of the real effects of their successful industry and faithfulness in that trust, the usefulness of the constitution was not looked upon with such an eye as it merited.

"Whereby its enemies, and such as were afraid of it, were encouraged, and by degrees found ways to lessen its consideration, until at length an interest was made to discharge those commissioners altogether, and probably with a design in some of securing themselves from fear of hurt in the next establishment, had not these commissioners taken such prudent measures as were able to secure the nation from a stroke that might have proved so fatal to its true interest.

"But the reputation of the usefulness of such an office being now generally raised in the minds of the people, by the recommendation in the King's speech, and the considerations of the reasonableness of the thing occasioned thereby, it is hoped that such an establishment thereof will be ordered, as may render it most capable to answer their expectations.

"And, as the consideration of the number of hands for every work is no less necessary to carry it on successfully than the skill of those employed, and the methods of working to which they are limited, it must in like manner be acknowledged that a full view of the reasonable and solid constitution of this office, doth not only require an account of the powers and directive orders wherewith they are to be entrusted, but also of the number of persons which may be supposed sufficient to put those powers and orders in due execution, so as the main design of public good thereby may be carried on with ease and success.

"And here it is to be noted that all pretensions to frugality and saving expense in a matter of such weight, without regarding a just balance thereof with the easy and successful progress

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of the affairs of the office, must in reason be understood to proceed either from a fear of its success or from a mistake of the way to attain it.

"Being the same in this as in all other cases of great moment, which the more they are such do the more require for their success fulness of intelligence, fulness of counsel, fulness of help, and fulness of encouragement to those employed.

"It suits a wise reflection on the nature and tendency of things to conclude, that pinching in great men and in great undertakings must always lose more than it saves.

"Solomon tells us, that to withhold more than is meet tendeth to poverty; that in the multitude of counsellors is safety: the proverb is in every one's mouth, that many hands make light work, and experience tells us that heavy work makes both uneasy workmen and slow progress.

"Therefore, whatever the cost may be by the honourable salaries of the commissioners before pleaded, if the mentioned necessary powers and trusts to be added to this office for making it effectually useful are regarded, there is reason enough to conclude that if ever nine were found to be a competent number of commissioners for the service of the office formerly, thirteen or fifteen may on as good ground be judged no more than what ought to be found competent for it now, if no consideration were to be added of any other superior officers needful but those of the title and authority of commissioners.

"But, seeing that I have formerly hinted at a proposal for adding, as a help to the commissioners, another order of officers, under the title of assistants, this occasion does require that it be fully explained what is meant thereby.

"I am humbly of opinion that, whatever prospect has been given of the national advantage from the several powers and trusts hitherto pleaded necessary to a right constitution of the office, the success of all does chiefly depend on this part of the establishment which relates to assistants.

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"And, that the truth hereof may appear, I shall first offer a general account of the nature of the office of assistants as proposed, and as distinct from that of the commissioners, and then add some reasons clearing the necessity and usefulness of this part of the constitution.

"The assistants are to be a degree of superior officers above the secretary, controller, and clerks of the office, and only inferior to the commissioners, who are chief.

"They are to be equal in number to the commissioners; so we shall suppose there are nine commissioners and nine assistants.

"They are to sit, debate, and advise with the commissioners; no board of the latter is to be without the former, and five commissioners, with four assistants, may make a quorum; but the power of voting is to remain only with the commissioners.

"The assistants may meet by themselves at their own appointment, when there is no meeting of the commissioners, to prepare matters for the board, and to consider and digest things recommended to them by the commissioners.

"And they are to be otherwise employed, as does more fully appear in the following reasons, proving the necessity and usefulness of their assistance to a successful carrying on of the design of the office for national service:—

"It is to be considered that there is a double charge added to the trust of this office above what any other had formerly; to wit, that of a yearly inquiry into the whole establishment of the forces, including guards, garrisons, condition and victualling of the fleet, ordnance, ammunition, incident charges, &c., and to adjust exactly the quota of the necessary supplies thereto; also a careful oversight and inspection into the methods of collecting the whole revenue, for securing fidelity, and preventing frauds therein.

"And this matter, being duly weighed, makes it not only reasonable, but absolutely necessary, that there be a new constitution of officers added, in consideration of a new trust

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added, requiring so great an addition of thought, counsel, pains, and labour, and consequently of more heads and hands to be employed.

"Especially considering that the last part of the mentioned trust cannot be discharged without a necessity of sending some of the assistants now and then into several places in the country, for observing and making such inquiries relating to the manner and fidelity of the collections as are not to be supposed attainable by any intelligence at a distance without that help.

"Upon which consideration the proposed extent of their number, at least to seven, is reasonably founded; because it cannot be well supposed that fewer shall be able to answer the necessary occasions requiring their service, which may happen in the country and in the office at the same time.

"Seeing also it usually is so ordered that the exercise of commissions granted in Parliament for general offices of accounts does not commence till the session is up, whereby much time may happen to be lost, the constitution of assistants is so favourable for national service, both in this and the following case, that the commission being passed at any time of the session the commissioners may at one meeting choose their assistants, who afterwards may have such frequent meetings for preparing the affairs of the office as may enable the commissioners, at the end of the session, to do more in a month, by the help of that preparatory assistance, than otherwise they should be able to do perhaps in six.

"The other case is that, seeing that there is good reason that the commissioners be Members of Parliament, and as good reason to suppose that that trust, and the trust of the office at the same time, must infer an overcharge of business upon them if they have no help, the addition of assistants takes off the difficulty, and makes this matter easy, seeing the affairs of the office may be so prepared and put in order by them, during the sitting of Parliament, that the presence of

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the commissioners in the office, which formerly was necessary after entering to the employment, even in time of Parliament, may not be found needful, save a few hours once a week, or perhaps sometimes once a fortnight, until freed from the other charge.

"Seeing also one of the chief designs of this office is to find out and pursue such lurking enemies of the government and nation as for private interest do interrupt and pervert the means ordered in Parliament for public safety, intelligence must be supposed no less necessary in this case than in that of an open war, it is plain that the assistants, both by their number, and by their more extensive conversation, than that of the commissioners, may very much contribute to the promoting of that interest in the office.

"Their help also may be very useful in answering effectively that part of the trust added to this commission which relates to the finding out the best means and methods for preventing deficiency of the funds, making good the credit, and clearing the debts of the nation; and for raising the supplies by ways most convenient to the service of the government, and least inconvenient to trade and other national interests; and in examining and digesting the proposals offered relating thereto.

"I shall sum up this argument for the reasonableness of adding an equal number of assistants with that of the commissioners in the present re-establishment of the office with the following consideration:—

"That the greatness and dignity of the trust; the concern of the nation in the success of the office; the multitude and intricacy of the matters to be considered; the extraordinary pains and ripeness of judgment which they will require; the plain justice of the plea that the commissioners ought both to be assisted therein, and eased in the numerous applications that will be made about matters of such universal concern, especially considering that they are often to be otherwise employed than in the affairs of the office; and the general

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satisfaction it will give to see such care taken, that all things be considered and performed in the office with such fulness of council, mature deliberation, and help requisite thereto, seem to make this part of the constitution relating to assistants so absolutely necessary that the effectual serving of national interest designed by such an office, and expected from it, must in a great measure depend thereon.

"Concerning which clause I have only this farther to offer, that, though it appears reasonable that the commissioners be empowered to make choice of their own assistants, yet it seems not to be agreeable to the design of the office, and usefulness of that part of the constitution thereof, that, being once chosen, they should be liable to any censure or power of discharging any of them but that only of the honourable House, upon such complaints made as they shall be satisfied with; because such a dependence on the commissioners might too much restrain their liberty, and overawe them in advising, debating, and reasoning about the affairs of the office, the success whereof, with particular respect to their assistance, does certainly require that they enjoy their offices by a right altogether independent upon the commissioners, except only as to the mentioned power of electing them.

"It remains, that, for a complete view of the constitution of the office, something be added concerning the charge necessary for its support, and on what fund it is to be raised.

"Though I have supposed nine commissioners necessary, and as many assistants, with respect to the business of the whole proposals, yet I shall now suppose that probably there may be found reasons for settling at first rather upon the number of seven of each; according to which supposition I make my computation as follows:

"Suppose twelve hundred pounds yearly salary to each of seven commissioners.

"Half as much, to wit, six hundred pounds to each of seven assistants.

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"To a secretary, a general accountant or controller, and a head clerk, three hundred a-year each.

"To twelve under clerks, a hundred a-year each.

"To three copying clerks for the three offices mentioned, sixty pounds a-year each.

"To four messengers, sixty pounds a-year each.

"For an office, a keeper of it, under servants, books, pens, ink, paper, coal, candles, and for incidental charges of the office, as sending assistants or messengers into the country, rewarding intelligence, adding more clerks or messengers, if found needful, &c., one thousand eight hundred and eighty pounds.

"The whole yearly expense of the office doth, according to this calculation, amount to no more than seventeen thousand pounds.

"Which seems to be but a small matter, being compared with the reasonable prospect it gives of such great national advantages as may be gained thereby.

"But much more it is to be so esteemed, if away is found to support the mentioned charge after such a manner as shall add no charge upon the nation more than it would be at though no office were in being.

"For making good whereof I propose, as a fund for the said charge, the poundage of the pay of the forces, which will be able to bear the same though it were four times greater, without either diminishing one penny of their usual pay, or adding one penny more to the supplies given by the people.

"And it will give great satisfaction to all concerned, both in the army and navy, that what was once a due part of their full pay is in part so employed as may serve to secure to them the fulness of what remains at surer times than those in consideration whereof the retention of the poundage was first allowed by them.

"There is one power more, besides those above-mentioned,

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due to the right establishment of the office, the consideration whereof I have reserved for this place, because its being denied to all the former commissions obliges me to insist a little upon clearing the reasonableness and usefulness thereof.

"It is the power of force for commanding and making effectual the orders of the commissioners, founded on the Act of their constitution.

"And, to state the case right, before I enter upon the arguments by which I am to plead for it, I suppose, as an instance of fact, that the commissioners are authorised by Act of Parliament to call for and examine all public accounts, to stop and recall all fraudulent applications of public money, otherwise than is ordered in Parliament, &c., and that one refuses to deliver us his accounts, or make equivalent frivolous excuses to put off and shift the same; another refuses to be interrupted from paying, and a third to be interrupted from receiving and disposing of public money otherwise than as the Parliament has ordered, or to pay back what hath been so disposed.

"The question is, whether ought the commissioners to be entrusted with such power to force or restrain in those and the like cases, as is absolutely necessary for making effectual the other trusts committed to them by King and Parliament? Or, whether ought they to apply to any inferior court or judge for power to command obedience, by seizing, confining, or imprisoning the persons of those who deny it, until they find sufficient surety that they shall obey the law?

"To which it is answered, That the commissioners ought to be entrusted with this power, and not obliged to apply for it to any other court, judge, or judicature, for the reasons following:—

"There is no power of arguing that can find an evasion against the force and certain truth of this maxim—that the merit of a greater trust must always infer the merit of a lesser.

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"To conclude, one worthy to be entrusted to the value of a thousand pounds, and at the same time to doubt or plead against his being entrusted to the value of five pounds, is a thing contradictory and inconsistent.

"But it is plain that no such disproportion or inconsistency can be reasonably supposed in denying one the trust of five pounds, and at the same time committing to him the trust of a thousand, as there is in committing to the commissioners so great a trust as the overseeing and securing the faithful management of the whole public moneys of the nation, upon which the defence of their religion, government, liberties, properties, and the securities of their persons doth so much depend; and at the same time denying them the small trust of a power to secure such persons as obstinately refuse, or unreasonably postpone obedience to those orders of Parliament relating thereto, which belong to the particular charge and trust of the office.

"A second reason is, that the ordering a dependence in the commissioners upon any other inferior court, judge, or judicature for the said power, is a thing so very unsuitable to the dignity of their office, and nature of their trust, that all the courts of Westminster Hall, entrusted with doing justice betwixt man and man, have not perhaps in fifty years such a value of private money and rights under their cognizance, as as the commissioners of accounts have, or are to have in one year of public money in their trust, of securing justice betwixt private persons and the whole government and nation.

"And seeing a preference must be always acknowledged due to public interest and trust before private, I desire any man to aasign a good reason why the commissioners, in the exercise of so far greater trust, should be obliged to depend for a power necessary to it upon any judge or judicature entrusted with it in the exercise of so much lesser trust?

"A third reason is, that all the cases in which the power pleaded in the behalf of the commissioners is to be exerted,

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being by authority of Parliament limited to particular facts of refusing or unreasonably postponing obedience to the orders thereof entrusted with them; for the truth of all which facts the commissioners are answerable, if any complaints were made to the House; this takes off all pretext of the need of applying to any judge or judges of the law for assistance of their counsel or power, seeing the exercise of the said power hath no legal difficulty in it.

"And, if it had, the House only are the proper judges of such facts, as, with consent of the King and Peers, themselves declare and limit."

"A fourth reason is, that seeing the honourable House do so grant all supplies that no amendments can be made to their money bills, it seems not more agreeable hereto that they, or whom they think fit to pitch upon for that trust, have the oversight of the faithful management thereof for public benefit; than that the overawing power of obliging the managers so to do, and restraining them from doing otherwise, be lodged with them, or those whom they entrust, and with no other.

"A fifth reason is, that the obliging the commissioners to apply elsewhere for the said power may prove very detrimental to public interest.

"There are many cases wherein this may happen, even all that we can suppose may render fraudulent misapplications of public money irrecoverable, in part or in whole, without a power to prevent them, immediately practicable, and which is liable to no such contingencies of delay as are incident to the asking after it from another.

"For clearing whereof I offer one instance: suppose information is brought to a meeting of the commissioners that a person having in his hands a great sum of public money hath so disposed of it as resolving to make no account, and is now at such a place being ready to depart for France within an hour, the commissioners being entrusted with the said power can immediately order him to be seized, whereas the party is

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gone and all the money lost before anything can be done to prevent it in way of application to another; yea, though they had a day's warning or more there are many accidents by which the same effect may become inevitable, if the said power is not fixed in their own persons.

"Besides that those inclined to refuse or postpone obedience to any of the orders entrusted with the commissioners shall be encouraged thereto, knowing that they have no power to force them but what is to be borrowed with reluctance, and perhaps there where they may hope to find favour.

"The last reason I am to offer is, that it seems to be a thing utterly unaccountable, and inconsistent with a due balance of national trust and interest, that the meanest justice of peace in the kingdom should have power to confine or imprison any man, at the complaint of another, until he find bail to answer, for securing justice betwixt man and man; and that the like power should be denied to a company of commissioners appointed by Parliament for securing justice from private persons to the whole nation.

"Especially considering that every justice of peace is so empowered for securing from private loss upon any alleged claim, though not proved, whereas the same power in the commissioners for securing from public loss is only pleaded in the case of a few particular facts proving themselves.

"It seems therefore to be a reasonable ground for determining the debate that the whole question be referred to this issue,—that no man be acknowledged to plead pertinently against the said power save he who can produce better reasons to prove it due to justices of peace and not to the said commissioners, than those here offered to prove it due to the commissioners, and no less but rather more due than to justices of the peace.

"But though these reasons for a coercive power being complexly considered may appear unanswerable, and though most also, or all of the former powers above mentioned, which

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my design of giving a full view of the capacities and usefulness of the office obliged me to propose, might be urged by reasons of no less force, if public good is allowed to be the hinge upon which all arguing for the office may and ought to turn, yet I am sensible that such difficulties do usually attend all innovations in public affairs as suffer me not to expect so happy a present establishment as to comprehend all the advantages that may be reasonably pleaded for it.

"Only I am willing to flatter myself with hopes that motions which have so much to be said for them may, after consideration, come to be rightly understood at one time or another, and that powers so strongly founded in reason and common interest shall at length be able, not only to captivate weaker resistances, but to overpower the more stubborn opposition of those who have no mind to understand them.

"I suppose as to the coercive power, seeing it hath formerly been pressed though not obtained, the reviving of it with the full force of thereasons mentioned may go a great way to carry it.

"And for the other powers, if they are to be picked, and those to have the preference for whom the greatest usefulness if not absolute necessity in consulting public interest may be reasonably pleaded, I need not speak for the power of inspecting the faithful management of that part of the public trust which relates to collecting the supplies, and for the addition of an equal number of assistants with that of the commissioners, without which it cannot be performed, seeing, I suppose, both these clauses, if but looked upon, will be able to speak and plead for themselves.

"For who can consider the first without thinking at the same time upon the unaccountable deficiencies of passed funds, and on the vast debts which the last war left upon the nation, though all the supplies were from time to time granted that ever were demanded for its support, as well as all ever demanded for making good the deficiencies, and what precaution is needful of a more strict and larger inspection into the

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management of the supplies now granted and to be granted, for preventing an effect at the end of another war which, with the debts already contracted, might prove fatal to the nation?

"And who can consider the addition of assistants so necessary for this great service, with their small charge of four thousand two hundred pounds a-year, which costs nobody a farthing, without thinking that probably so much money was never bestowed to better purpose in the nation?

"I shall sum up all with an account of a matter of fact, which I have good reason to believe is so, as I have been told and am to relate it.

"That some gentlemen, who have laid a perpetual obligation upon their country for so noble a service and of so great consequence to public interest, having conceived some jealousies of unfaithful returns made of supplies collected, did resolve to essay such a proof as might satisfy them therein.

"Accordingly they went through a considerable number of towns in the county of Devonshire, and examining the receipts of the collectors in the particular fund of glass windows, and taking the pains afterwards to inquire and compare them with the returns made in the Exquequer for the said towns on that fund, they made such a notable discovery as to find that for one of these towns thirty shillings only were returned instead of thirteen pounds; in another six pounds only instead of sixty really paid by the inhabitants and received by the collectors, according to their own receipts, and proportionably in other towns.

"I am assured that these gentlemen will, at a fit opportunity, to the lasting honour of their fame amongst all true Englishmen, own the account here delivered before the honourable House.

"It is to be marked that this matter of fact doth probably suppose that the making up of the duplicates for those towns hath been committed either to the collectors or the receivers,

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as I am informed, is not unusual in some cases, which a due inquiry will clear.

"If therefore a farther neglect of overseeing the collection, as well as the distribution of the supplies, is not like to cost the nation dear, if not timely remedied?

"If the truth of what is offered, when owned and proved, may not furnish to the honourable House a reasonable ground for entering into new measures about ordering and securing the faithful collecting and returning into the Exchequer of those sums designed and appropriated by them for public service?

"And if the instance given ought not to be looked upon as a satisfying argument for adding in the mean time to the general commission of accounts depending before them the mentioned power of overseeing and examining the collections, receipts, and returns of the duplicates and money of the supplies, with the power of force to check, restrain, and recover damages by frauds, and for adding the assistants proposed so absolutely necessary for rendering the office capable to answer effectually such an addition of trust and more extensive charge? I leave it to consideration."

The foregoing tract was published at the time of the delivery of the following speech of King William to Parliament.

"I do recommend these matters to you with that concern and earnestness which the importance requires; at the same time I cannot but press you to take care of the public credit, which cannot be preserved but by keeping sacred that maxim, that they shall never be losers who trust to a parliamentary security. It is always with regret when I do ask aids of my people; but you will observe, that I desire nothing which relates to any personal expense of mine. I am only pressing you to do all you can for your own safety and honour at so critical and dangerous a time; and am willing that what is given shall be wholly appropriated to the purposes for which it is intended.

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"And since I am speaking on this head, I think it proper to put you in mind, that during the late war I ordered the accounts to be laid yearly before the Parliament, and also gave my assent to several bills for taking the public accounts, that my subjects might have satisfaction how the money given for the war was applied, and I am willing that matter may be put in any further way of examination, that it may appear whether there were any misapplications and mismanagements, or whether the debt that remains upon us has really arisen from the shortness of the supplies, or the deficiency of the funds.

"I have already told you how necessary dispatch will be for carrying on their great public business, whereon our safety and and all that is valuable to us depends. I hope what time can be spared, will be employed about those very desirable things, which I have so often recommended from the throne, I mean the forming some good bills for employing the poor, for encouraging trade, and the further suppression of vice."—Parliamentary History, vol. v. p. 1330.

It is no exaggeration to say, that the key to this speech, and the measures it calls for, are to be found more precisely in the writings of William Paterson, published in the present volume, than in any other documents of the time.

The charge urged by Paterson against the practice of secret treasury bargains, received an unexpected confirmation in a declaration of Secretary Stanhope, that "all financial bargains ought to be made in the face of the House of Commons." (App. D D D.)

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Baron von Humboldt's Encouragement, given in 1856, to the united efforts of all the Maritime Nations for the Construction of a Ship-passage to the Pacific Ocean, upon the scene of Paterson's great Undertaking in 1698.

The memory of William Paterson may well be called up to receive our homage at a time when so much is doing to justify his high estimate of the resources of Central America, and his conviction of its future influence upon the civilization of mankind. Numerous lines of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans are fast opening, independently of those of the frozen North, and stormy South, with their several sacrifices of life, little compensated by admiration gratefully accorded to the heroic victims of science and philanthropy. The Canadas have their *overland* routes in no remote prospect; the United States theirs, in eager preparation. The Gulf of Mexico must ere long possess at least its cheap boat-passage along the Tehuantepec, and both Honduras and Nicaragua will have their works for like purposes; far better occasions of rivalry than the present barbarous conflicts. In Panama, a citizen of the United States has had the courage and ability to solve one of the most difficult of problems, that of the possible construction of a prosperous railway in a region of tropical torrents and pestiferous forests. Experienced and intelligent persons have a strong opinion that the Panama success will ere long promote the construction of an adjacent canal, by facilities afforded it from the railway. Some calculations on these various works will be found in the notes.

Meanwhile, the several foundations actually laid, for the most efficient ship-passage, merit immediate notice. Two of them concern the region of the *Strait*, the existence of which Columbus firmly believed in when he died. This scene of Paterson's disappointments also, and of Eliot Warburton's frustrated explorations, has for some years past been an object of much interest. The Government of New Grenada has entered into liberal engagements with British subjects, in order to promote the accomplishment of the work up the river Atrato, especially by Cupica Bay on the Pacific. Those parties have encountered many disasters without losing courage. Another citizen of the United States, Mr. Kelly of New York, has improved upon their labours, and, striking upon a line unknown from Paterson's day, he is now energetically seeking general support under the best auspices.

In April last a paper was read by him at the Geographical Society, "On the Connection between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, *viâ* the Atrato and Truando Rivers." Up to the year 1852, no surveys had been

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attempted on the Atrato River. In that year, Mr. Kelly and other gentlemen despatched a party to survey it to its sources, with the dividing ridge and the most practicable waters, to the Pacific. This was followed by two others, at Mr. Kelly's expense. The information acquired induced him to despatch a fourth expedition, to survey the Truando; and he sent a fifth, under Captain Kennish, an English engineer, to proceed to the Pacific, and trace the coast from the Bay of Panama southward to 7° north latitude. Captain Kennish found a harbour in the bay, and he observed the Cordillera to be diminished in height to some hundred feet. On crossing the water-parting, he struck the Nerqua, a tributary of the Truando, and from thence the party descended in boats to the Atrato. His survey and levellings have resulted in a plan for a *ship canal*, without a lock or any other impediment. The Truando is navigable for thirty-eight miles from the confluence; and the remaining twenty-five miles to the Pacific will require cutting, and a tunnel of three miles and a quarter. *The United States Government is willing alone to proceed with the survey; but European interests ought also to be represented. The English Government is not unwilling to co-operate; and all that is required to insure the complete survey of the practicable routes between the oceans, is the establishment of cordial relations between the Governments of the United States and Great Britain.*"

This is, in brief, the report of the proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society on the subject; and more scientific details have been published respecting it by the Society of British Engineers.

But, whilst so important a design may easily be thought to have attracted the earnest attention of distinguished men of science, the most interesting and the most powerful advocate of the enterprise is Baron Alexander von Humboldt. Like General Lafayette, who, in advanced age, received affectionate, universal homage in the great western republic he had tended in its cradle, Baron von Humboldt now gives the effective aid of his warm approval, to a work worthy of that republic and its allies in both hemispheres, for which, more than half a century since, he prepared the way. This Nestor of Science has, in the present year, addressed the following letter to Mr. Frederick Kelly to encourage him:—

"Berlin, 27th January, 1856.

"It is with the most lively satisfaction that I have taken notice, during your too short visit to Berlin, of the great and solid operations which you have caused to be executed since the beginning of January, 1855, by Mr. William Kennish, a skilful engineer, in surveying and levelling the course of the great river Atrato and its affluents from the West. My able and scientific friend Mr. Alexander Bache, superintendent of the coast survey of the United States, had already drawn my

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attention to the previous investigations which you had caused to be made; and these researches are the more deserving of regard in consequence of your proposal to extend the investigation, with equal precision, to the passage between Port Cupica and the river Napipi, as well as to other points situated above the confluence of the Truando—positions of great importance in the solution of the vast problem of an oceanic canal.

"The great number of maps and sections on large scales, which you possess, furnish all the necessary elements for judging of the possibility of communication through the mouths of the Atrato, the Truando, and a canal leading from the latter to the South Sea. It is owing to such a complete examination not having been effected of the mountainous country between the Gulf of San Miguel and Caledonia Bay, that Mr. Lionel Gisborne's project in 1852 was abortive. Ignorance of the locality, with the want of hypsometrical measurements, led to the sad results of Lieut. Strain's courageous expedition.

"The great object to be accomplished is, in my opinion, a canal uniting the two oceans *without locks or tunnels*. When the plans and sections can be submitted to the public, a free and open discussion will elicit the advantages and disadvantages of EACH LOCALITY; and the execution of this important work, which interests the civilized nations of the two continents, should be entrusted to engineers who have successfully constructed similar works. The Junction Company will find supporters among those governments and nations who, yielding to noble feelings, will take pride in the idea of having contributed to a work worthy of the progress of intellect in the 19th century. This opinion I have expressed with warmth for more than fifty years. I have laboured, without ceasing, to disseminate the geographical views which tend to prove the possibility of commercial communications, whether by canals, with or without locks, either simple or coupled with inclines,

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or by means of railroads, uniting coasts or rivers having an opposite course.

"Through General Bolivar, I obtained the exact geodetic levelling of the Isthmus of Panama. I was the first to make known, in my Mexican Atlas, the course of the two rivers Huasacoalco and Chimalapa, according to documents found in the archives of the viceroyalty of Mexico. I indicated the proximity of the almost unknown port of Cupica to the sources of the Napipi and the waters of the Atrato, as well as the existence, unknown in Europe, of a canal of very small dimensions, constructed in 1788, under the directions of a monk, curate of Novita, by the Indians of his parish, for connecting the waters of the Raspadura, an affluent of the Quito, with the waters of the San Juan de Chirambira. I think there is nothing more likely to obstruct the extension of commerce and the freedom of international relations, than to create a distaste for any further investigation, by now discouraging, as some are too positive in doing, all hope of an oceanic channel.

"I have described already in my 'Essai Politique de la Nouvelle Espagne,' the immense operation of cutting through mountains the open canal, called the Desague of Huehuetoca, which was executed by the Spanish government at the commencement of the seventeenth century; and I have now too much faith in the power of the resources offered by modern civilisation, to be discouraged.

"I am indebted to Colonel Codazzi, and to the affectionate kindness of the Minister of the Interior at Bogota, M. Pastor Ospina, for important communications which remind me that the route from Cupica to the river Napipi presents successive elevations; and it would be an additional service to geography if you would cause this route to be laid down." (Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London, 1856, No. 111, 663-71.)

All the lines thought to offer facilities for ship passages by the Isthmus to the Pacific, are described in the notes.

END OF VOL. I.

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